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*James Moore*

THE  
HISTORY  
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BUCANIERS  
OF  
AMERICA.

CONTAINING,

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|--|---|
| I. The Exploits and Adventures of LE GRAND, LOLONIS, ROCHE BRASILIANO, BAT the Portuguese, Sir H. MORGAN, &c.    | III. A Journal of a Voyage into the South Sea by the Free-booters of America, from 1684 to 1689.                |
| II. The dangerous Voyage and bold Attempts of Capt. SHARP, WATLIN, SAWKINS, COXON, and others, in the South Sea. | IV. A Relation of a Voyage of the Sieur DE MONTAUBAN, Captain of the Free-booters, in Guinea, in the Year 1695. |

EXHIBITING

A particular Account and Description of PORTO BELLO, CHAGRE, PANAMA, CUBA, HAVANNA, and most of the Spanish Possessions on the Coast of the West Indies, and also all along the Coasts of the South Sea; with the Manner in which they have been invaded, attempted, or taken by these Adventurers.

The Whole written in several Languages by Persons present at the Transactions.

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B U C A N I E R S, &c.  
I N  
A M E R I C A.

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P A R T II. C H A P. XIV.

*The Bucaniers depart from the port of Hilo, and sail to that of Coquimbo: they are described before their arrival; notwithstanding they land: are encountered by the Spaniards, and put them to flight. They take, plunder, and fire the city of la Sarena: a description thereof. A stratagem of the Spaniards, in endeavouring to fire their ship, discovered and prevented. They are deceived again by the Spaniards, and forced to retire from Coquimbo without any ransom for the city, or considerable pillage. They release several of their chiefest prisoners.*

**T**HE next morning, being Wednesday, November the 3d, 1680, about seven o'clock we set sail from Hilo, standing directly off to sea, with a small land wind. Upon the shore we could not discover this morning above fifty men of our enemies forces, which caused us to suspect the

VOL. II.                      A                      rest

rest were run away from their colours, and had deserted in the dark of the night. If this were so, we were equally afraid of each other, and as we quitted the land, being jealous of their multitudes, so they abandoned their stations for fear of our encounters. All the while we lay in the port of Hilo, we had a fresh wind; but being come out thence, we found it almost stark calm. All along this coast runs a great sea, as we experimented at Arica, insomuch that there is no landing, except under the favour of some rock or other.

November the 4th, in the morning, we saw the port of Hilo at E. N. E. at the distance of nine leagues or thereabouts from land. The white sand gives a bright reflection over the land; which we could see after we had lost the sight of the land itself.

The day following we had an indifferent fresh wind at S. S. E. We reckoned a S. W. half west way, and by it that we had made twenty leagues: the day was very fair and sun-shiny, and the sea very smooth.

November the 6th, we had a clear night the last past, and the day proved very fair and clear, like the former; we reckoned by a S. W. by W. way, about twenty-one leagues. In the afternoon it was almost quite calm.

The day following we had no more than the last twenty-four hours. We were about this time many of us troubled with the scurvy; it proceeded, as we judged, from the great hardship and want of provisions which we had endured for several months past, as having only bread and water (as was mentioned above) only at Hilo we killed a mule, which was looked upon by those that eat of it to be very good victuals, the Spaniards having swept away with them all other provisions of flesh: but we  
got

got there as plunder a small quantity of good chocolate, which the Spaniards have in great esteem : so now we had each morning a dish of pleasant liquor containing almost a pint.

Next day likewise we had very little wind, as before ; we made an observation this day, and found lat. 20 deg. 5 S.

November the 9th, we had still very little wind, and that variable. We took almost every hour an observation, and found ourselves to be in lat. 20 deg. 18 S.

The 10th, we had in like manner but little wind ; we observed an E. S. E. current, or pretty near it, run hereabouts. This day we saw the homing of a very high land, which much surprized us, for at this time I conceived we could not be less than thirty-five or forty leagues from land ; we supposed it to be Mora Tarapaca. That day we set up our shrouds.

Upon the 11th, an indifferent gale of wind sprang up at S. W. by S. by which we made twenty-five leagues and one third : we had now a great S. S. W. sea : in the night the wind (as we experimented) came one or two points from the land : this morning we saw the like homing of land, whereby we were made sensible it was no land we had seen the day before.

On the 12th, we had several mists of rain, with windy weather ; we made by a S. S. W. half S. way, twenty-five leagues and one third ; we had likewise a great and rolling S. S. W. sea, as the day before.

The 13th, we had both cloudy and misty weather ; we made a S. S. W. and one quarter S. way, by which we ran fifty leagues.

But the next day, fair and clear weather came about again : we had likewise an easy gale of wind,

by which we made a S. W. way, and advanced twenty-two leagues and a half.

On the 15th of November, we had also clear weather, and an indifferent gale of wind. Our way was S. W. by W. by which we reckoned eighteen leagues; likewise at our westing from Hilo, from whence we set forth, was 114 leagues and one third: our latitude by observation, we found to be 23 deg. 25 S. I took now the declination table used and made by the cosmographer at Lima.

Tuesday, November the 16th. In the night last past we had a shower or two of rain: this day we made an observation, by which we found lat. 23 deg. 35 S.

The 17th, we made a S. W. by W. half S. way. By observation we found lat. 23 deg. 46 S. with very little wind.

The 18th, upon a S. W. by W. way, we made twenty-one leagues. By observation we found lat. 23 deg. 20 S.

Friday, November the 19th, 1680. This morning about an hour before day, we observed a comet to appear a degree N. from the bright star in Libra; the body thereof seemed dull, and its tail extended itself eighteen or twenty degrees in length, being of a pale colour, and pointed directly N. N. W. Our prisoners hereupon told us that the Spaniards had seen very strange sights both at Lima, the capital city of Peru, Guayaquil, and other places, much about the time of our coming into the South Seas. I reckon this day we had run twenty leagues by a S. W. way.

The day following the appearance of the comet we had many storms of wind at S. S. E. and E. S. E. Our reckoning by a S. W. way was twenty-two leagues.

Sunday, November 21st, likewise many gusts of wind, such as the day before, with frequent showers

ers of rain : the wind varied to and fro according as the clouds drew it here and there. We reckoned a S. S. W. way, and by it twenty-one leagues and a half ; in all, west from Hilo, we judged ourselves to be 178 leagues and two thirds. We had this day a great S. W. sea, and cloudy weather : I supposed our lat. to be 26 deg. 53 S.

November the 22d, we had in like manner cloudy weather, and now but little wind : we reckoned a S. way, and fifty one leagues.

The 23d, we had very little wind, and all storm after the appearance of the comet, being now quite allayed, we reckoned we had made a S. E. by E. way, and found our latitude by observation to bear 27 deg. 46 S.

Wednesday, November the 24th. For twenty-four hours past we had a N W. Wind. Our way was S. E. half S. by which we reckoned thirty-one leagues and one third.

The 25th. Last night the wind blew at W. S. W. but this morning it came about again at N. west, as the day before : our reckoning this day was a S. E. and one quarter E. way twenty-nine leagues and one third : our latitude now by observation made this day, was 39 deg. 57 S. our difference of meridian 135  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

November the 26th. In the night the wind started to S. S. W. but this day at noon we had little better than a calm. I reckoned an E. S. E. half E. way, and by it twenty-three leagues.

Saturday the 27th. Yesterday in the evening the wind came to S. I reckoned an east, and something southerly way, and by that twenty-three leagues as the day before.

November the 28th. For twenty-four hours past we had a fresh wind at S. S. E. having a high S. W. sea. Our reckoning was an E. by N. and half N. way, and withal twenty-four leagues. By observa-



tion, we found latitude 3b-deg. 16 S. and meridian distance eighty-eight leagues. At noon the wind came at S. half E.

On the 29th, we had a very great S. W. sea, and withal cloudy weather. My reckoning was an E. one third S. way, twenty leagues and one-third. This day we happened to see two or three great fowls flying in the air, which our pilot told us used to appear seventy or eighty leagues off from the island, called the island of Juan Fernandez. The day before this, captain Peralta, our prisoner, was taken very frantic, his distemper being occasioned (as we thought) through too much hardship and melancholy; notwithstanding this day he was indifferently well again.

The following day we had likewise cloudy weather. We made according to our account, an E. half N. way, and by it sixteen leagues and two thirds. Our meridian difference fifty-two leagues.

The 1st of December we had hazy weather, and withal an indifferent good wind at S. yea, sometimes S. by W. Our way was E. by S. by which we reckoned twenty-two leagues. The night before we sailed over white water-like banks of a mile in length, or more; but these banks upon examination we found to be only great shoals of anchovies.

December 2d, very early in the morning we spied land, which appeared to be very high. About noon this day we were at six leagues distance from it. All the preceding night we had so much wind that we were forced to make use only of a pair of courses. By an observation made this day we found latitude 30 deg. 35 S. We went away largely, driving better than 9 leagues every watch. With this wind we made all the sail we possibly could, designing by this means to get to Coquimbo, upon which coast we now were before night; but the wind was so high, that sometimes we were forced to lower all our sails, it blowing now a mere fret of wind.

Towards

Towards evening it abated by degrees, insomuch that at midnight it was quite calm again; then we hoisted out our launch and canoes, and putting into them one hundred men, we rowed away from the ship, with design to take by surprizal a considerable city near the coast, called by the Spaniards, *la ciudad de la Serena*.

Friday, December the 3d, 1680. When we departed from the ship, we had about two leagues to row to the shore; but as it happened, the launch wherein I was rowed so heavy (in comparison of the canoes) that we could not keep pace with them; for this reason it was broad day before we got to a certain storehouse situate upon the shore, our men having passed by it in the dark of the night without perceiving it. They being landed, immediately marched away from their canoes towards the city before-mentioned of *la Serena*. But we had not proceeded far on our march, when we found, to the great sorrow and chagrin of us all, that we were timely discovered here also, as we had been at the other two places before, *Arica* and *Hilo*: for as they marched in a body together, being but thirty-five men in all, who were all those that were landed out of the canoes, they were suddenly encountered and engaged by a whole troop of a hundred Spanish horse. We that were behind hearing the noise of the dispute, followed them at their heels, and made all the haste we possibly could to come up to their relief; but before we could reach the place of the battle, they had already routed the Spaniards, and forced them to fly towards the town.

Notwithstanding this rout, they rallied again at the distance of about a mile from the place, and seemed as if they waited for us, and would engage us anew. But as soon as all our forces were come together, which were in all eighty-four, the rest being left to guard the boats, we marched towards

A. 4. them.

them and offered them battle. As we came near unto them, we found plainly they designed no such thing, for they instantly retired and rid away before us, keeping out of the reach of our guns. We followed them as they rid, being led by them designedly clear out of the road that went to the town, that we might not reach nor find it so soon. In this engagement with the horse, our company had killed three of their chiefest men, and wounded four more, killing also four of their horses. When we found that we had been led by this stratagem of the enemy out of the way of the town, we left the bay, and crossed over the green fields to find it, wading oftentimes over several branches of water, which there serve to enclose each plat of ground. Upon this march we came to several houses, but found them all empty, and swept clean, both of inhabitants and provisions: we saw likewise several horses and other heads of cattle in the fields as we went along towards the city. This place of la Serena our pilot had reported to us to be but a small town, but being arrived there, we found in it no fewer than seven great churches and one chapel: four of these churches were monasteries or convents, and each church had its organs for the performance of divine service. Several of the houses had their orchards of fruit and gardens belonging to them; both houses and gardens being as well and as neatly furnished as those in England; in these gardens we found strawberries as big as walnuts and those very delicious to the taste; in a word, every thing in this city of la Serena was most excellent and delicate, and far beyond what we could expect in so remote a place. The town was inhabited by all sorts of tradesmen, and besides them, had its merchants, some of which were accounted very rich.

The inhabitants of la Serena upon our approach fled, carrying with them the best of their goods and jewels;

jewels; and what they could not carry away that was of value they buried, having had time enough to do so from the advice they received of our coming from Arica and other places. Notwithstanding, we took in the town one friar, and two Chilenos, or Spaniards, natives of the kingdom of Chili, which adjoins to that of Peru, towards the streight of Magellan. These prisoners told us, that the Spaniards, when they heard of our coming, had killed most of their Chilian slaves, fearing they should revolt from them to us. Moreover, that we had been described from their coasts four days before our landing; all which time they had employed in carrying away their plate and goods. To this information they added, that for their defence they had received a supply of sixty men from Arica. Having taken possession of the town, that evening there came a negro to us, running away from the Spaniards; he informed us, that when we were before Panama, we had taken a negro who was esteemed the best pilot in all the South-Sea; but more especially for this place, and the coasts of Coquimbo: and further, that if the Spaniards had not sent all the negroes belonging to this city farther up into the country, out of our reach and communication, they would all undoubtedly have revolted to us.

That night about twelve our boatswain, accompanied by forty men, with a Chilian for their guide, went out of the town some miles into the country with a design to find out the places where the Spaniards lay concealed; and had hid their goods and plate; but before they came, the Spaniards had got intelligence thereof from some secret spies they had in the town, and both the men and their women were all fled to places that were more occult and remote. So that by this search they only found an old Indian woman and three children, but no gold:

nor plate. This morning our ship came to an anchor by the storehouse above-mentioned, named Tortuga, at the distance of a furlong from shore in the depth of seven fathom water.

Next morning, being Saturday, December the 4th, came into the town a flag of truce from the enemy. Their message was to proffer a ransom for the town to preserve it from burning; for now they began to fear we would set fire to it, as having found no considerable booty nor pillage therein. The chief commanders on both sides met about this point, and agreed betwixt them for the sum of 95,000 pieces of eight for the whole ransom. In the afternoon I was sent down to the bay of Coquimbo, with a party of twenty men, to carry thither some goods we had taken in the town, as also provisions for the ship. It is two leagues and a half from the town to the port; one league on the bay, the rest being a very great road, which leads from the bay to the city. The Spaniards promised that the ransom should be collected and paid in by the next day. This day also there died one of our negroes slaves on board the ship.

The day following in the morning I came back to the town with the men I had brought down the day before, only six of them I left behind, to look after our canoes at the end of the bay. When I came to the city, I found that the Spaniards had broken their promise, and had not brought in the ransom they had agreed for; but had begged time till to-morrow at eight in the forenoon. This evening another party of our men went down to the ship to carry such goods as we had pillaged in the town. That night, about nine of the clock happened an earthquake, the which we were very sensible of as we were all together in the church of San Juan, where our chief rendezvous and corps du guard was.

was kept. In the night the Spaniards opened a sluice, and let the water run in streams about the town, with intent either to overflow it, and thereby force us out of the place, or at least that they might the easier quench the flame in case we should fire the town.

Next morning we set fire to the town, perceiving it to be overflowed, and that the Spaniards had not performed, or rather that they never designed to perform their promise. We fired as high as we could every house in the whole town, to the end that it might be totally reduced to ashes. Thus we left *la Serena*, carrying with us what plunder we could find, having sent two parties before loaded with goods to the ship, as was mentioned above. As we marched down to the bay, we beat up an ambuscade of 250 horse which lay hid in the way, with an intent to fall on our men in case we had sent down any other party with goods to the ship. We received advice that the Spaniards had endeavoured by an unusual stratagem to burn our ship and thereby destroy us all. They blew up a horse's hide like a bladder, and upon this float a man ventured to swim from shore, and come under the stern of our ship; being arrived there, he crammed okeham and brimstone, and other combustible matter between the rudder and the stern-post: having done this, he fired it with a match, so that in a small time our rudder was on fire, and all the ship in a smoke. Our men, both alarmed and amazed with this smoke, ran up and down the ship, suspecting the prisoners to have fired the vessel, thereby to get their liberty and destroy us. At last they found out where the fire was, and had the good fortune to quench it before its going too far. As soon as they had put it out, they sent the boat ashore, and found both the hide before-mentioned, and the match burning at both

A. G. ends;

ends, whereby they discovered the whole matter. When we came to the storehouse on the shore side, we set at liberty the friar our prisoner, and another gentleman, who was become our hostage for the performance of the ransom. And when we came aboard, we likewise set at liberty captain Peralta, don Thomas de Argandona, don Baltazar, don Christeval, captain Juan the pilot's mate, the old moor, and several other of our chief prisoners. To this releasement of our prisoners we were moved, partly because we knew not well what to do with them, and partly because we feared that by the example of this stratagem, they might be able to effect what the other had attempted with so much likelihood of success.

#### C H A P. XV.

*The Bucaniers set sail from Coquimbo for the isle of Juan Fernandez. An exact account of this voyage. Misery they endure, and great dangers they escape there. They mutiny among themselves and choose Watling to be their chief commander. Description of the island. Three Spanish men of war meet with the Bucaniers at the said island; with what happened thereupon.*

BEING all embarked again (as was mentioned in the precedent chapter) the next morning, which was Tuesday, December the 7th, twenty of us were sent ashore to observe the motions of the enemy. We went to the look-out, or watch-hill, but could learn nothing from thence; hereupon, about noon we returned on board the ship, and at two in the afternoon we weighed anchor and set sail, directing our course for the island of Juan Fernandez, not far from the coast of Coquimbo.

At

At night we were five leagues distant from thence at N. W. by N. The southermost island of those which are called de los Paxaros, or Island of Birds, was then N. N. W. from us. Before our departure, I took a draught of the bay of Coquimbo, and of the city of la Serena.

December the 8th, we had but very little wind, and a leeward current here, which we could perceive heaved us to the northward. The aforementioned island de los Paxaros, at three in the afternoon bore N. E. of us at the distance of three leagues or thereabouts.

It is four leagues distant from the main continent, and from the next island of the same name about two. The main is extream high and mountainous hereabouts. At evening we were west from the said Island five leagues. About eight or nine leagues to the windward of Coquimbo are certain white cliffs, which appear from the shore to those that are off at sea.

December 9, we had likewise but little wind, as the day before. I supposed myself this day to be about thirteen leagues west from the island above-mentioned. The weather was cloudy, with missing rain, so that no observation could be taken. However, this day it was thought convenient to come to an allowance of water; for we had taken in little or none at Coquimbo. The same weather, or very like it, we had the next day, being the 10th; that is to say, quite calm and cloudy.

December the 11th, we had some small rain the fore part of the day; but in the afternoon it cleared up, so that the weather was very hot. We had still but little wind.

The next day, December the 12th, we had very fair weather, and by a clear observation made this day, we found lat. 30 deg. 6. S.

December



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December the 13th, by a W. S. W. way, we made forty-two leagues. By observation we found lat. 30 deg. 45 S. D. M. four leagues and two thirds.

The 14th in the morning, we had a handsome shower of rain, which continued for some time; then about eight a clock there sprung up a S. S. W. breeze. My reckoning was by an E. S. E. way fourteen leagues; and by observation, we found this day 30 deg. 30 S. In the afternoon died one of our men, whose name was William Cammock: his disease was occasioned by a surfeit got by too much drinking on shore at la Serena, which produced a calenture, or malignant fever, and an hiccough. In the evening we buried him in the sea, according to the usual custom of mariners, giving him three-French vollies for his funeral.

The day following we had an indifferent fresh wind on both tacks. Our way was W. S. W. and by it we reckoned thirty-four leagues. So likewise by an observation we had lat. 30 deg. 42 S. All the afternoon blew a S. by W. wind very fresh, with a short topping S. W. sea.

But the next day we had no small breezes, but rather hard gusts of wind; these grew so high, that they forced us to take in our top-sails. We made a S. W. half S. way, and forty-five leagues.

On the 17th, we had likewise high winds, and withal a S. W. sea. Our way was W. by S. By an observation taken this day, we found lat. 30 deg. 51 S. In the afternoon we had a S. S. E. wind, our course being S. W.

December the 18th. This day we had the same high winds as before, at S. S. E. We reckoned by a W. S. W. way forty-five leagues. At noon the wind was something fallen, and then we had some rain.

The

The 19th, we had both cloudy and windy weather. My reckoning was a S. W. by S. way, and hereupon fifty-eight miles. Yesterday we were assured by our pilot, that we were now in the meridian of Juan Fernandez, whither our course was directed for the present. That which occasioned him to be so positive in this assertion, was the seeing of those great birds, of which we made mention in the foregoing chapter.

On the 20th, we had cloudy weather in the morning on both tacks. We made a S. W. and half S. way, and by it fifty-two leagues. By an observation we found this day lat. 32 deg. 30 S. difference of meridian was now 132 leagues.

The next day likewise we had cloudy weather; yet by an observation we found a W. way. On the 22d, by observation we found an E. way proved.

Thursday, December the 23d. All the night past we had a fresh wind; but in the morning, from the top-mast-head, we descried a hammock of land; in the evening we saw it again. We found afterwards that what we had seen, was the westernmost island of Juan Fernandez; which is nothing but a mere rock, there being no riding, nor scarce landing near it.

Friday, December the 24th. This morning we could descry the island itself of Juan Fernandez, S. by E. it being at sixteen leagues distance when we saw it the day before; at seven this morning the island stood E. the wind being at N. W. by N.

Here my observation was, that I could neither see fowl nor fish near this island; both which are usual about other islands. Having told my observation to our pilot, he answered me, that he had made many voyages by this island, and yet never saw either fowl or fish. Our reckoning this day was

was an E. S. E. way, and hereby thirty-six leagues. Our latitude by observation was found to be 33 deg. 30 S.

Saturday, December the 25th. The 24th, at three o'clock, we saw the other island, making two or three hammocks of land: this morning we were about eight leagues from it, the island bearing E. S. E. from us. At eight the same morning we were right a-breast with it. Here therefore are two islands together, the biggest whereof is three leagues and a half in length, nearest N. W. and S. E. The other, and lesser, is almost one league in circumference. At ten o'clock we sent off from the ship one of our canoes, to seek for the best landing and anchoring for our vessel: as we approached, both islands seemed to us but one entire heap of rocks: that which lies more to the north is the highest, though we could not see the tops thereof, for the clouds covered it; in most places it is so steep, that it becomes almost perpendicular.

This day, being Christmas-day, we gave in the morning early three vollies of shot, for solemnization of that great festival. I reckoned an E. by S. way. By a clear observation from the middle of the island, I found here lat. 33 deg. 45 S. and M. D. to be ninety-nine leagues: in the evening we came to an anchor at the south-end of the island, in a stately bay, but which lies open to the south, and to the south-east winds: we anchored in the depth of eleven fathom water, and at the distance of only one furlong from the shore. Here we saw multitudes of seals covering the bay every where, insomuch, that we were forced to kill them, before we could set foot on shore.

Sunday, December the 26th. This day we sent a canoe to see if we could find any riding secure from the southerly winds; these being the most constant winds.

winds that blow on these coasts: the canoe being gone, our commander sent likewise what men we cou'd spare on shore, to drive goats, whereof there is great plenty in this island. They caught and killed that day to the number of three score, or thereabouts. The canoe returning to the ship made report that there was good riding in another bay, situate on the north side of the island, in fourteen fathom water, and not above one quarter of a mile from the shore, and that there was much wood to be had; whereas, in the place where we first anchored, not one stick of wood, nor tuft of grass was to be found.

The next day, being the 27th, between two, and four in the morning, we had a tempest of violent winds, and fierce showers of rain; the same day we got in two hundred jars of water, bringing them a full league from the place of our riding: mean while others were employed to catch goats, as they had done the day before.

On the 28th of the said month, in the morning, I went with ten more of our company, and two canoes, to fetch water from the land: being come thither, and having filled our jars, we could not get back to the ship, by reason of a southerly wind that blew from off the ocean, and hindered our return. Thus we were forced to lie still in a water-hole, and wait till the wind was over for a safer opportunity. While the violence of the wind increased, our ship was forced to get under sail, and make away, not without danger of being forced ashore. Hereupon, we sailed out of the harbour, to seek another place of anchoring: at noon I ventured out, to try if I could follow the ship, but was forced in again, by the wind and raging sea; thus we lay still for some while longer, till the evening came on: this being come, we ventured out again.

again, both canoes together ; but the winds were then so high, that we were forced to throw all our jars of water over-board to lighten our boats, otherwise we had inevitably perished. I ought to bless almighty God for this deliverance ; for in all human reason, the least wave of that tempest might have sunk us : notwithstanding, we came that night to our place of harbour, where we expected to have found our ship (called False wild Harbour) but found her not ; hereupon, not knowing what to do, we went ashore, and hauled up our canoes dry. Having done this, we went higher up into the island, along a gully, for the space of half a mile, there to clear ourselves of the noise and company of the seals, which were very troublesome on the shore. Here we kindled a fire, and dried our clothes, and rested ourselves all night, though with extreme hungry bellies, as having eaten very little or nothing all the day before. In the sides of the hill, under which we lay, we observed many holes like coney-holes : these holes are the nests and roosting places of multitudes of birds that breed in this island, called by the Spaniards Pardelas. One of these birds, as we lay drying and warming ourselves, fell down into our fire.

The next morning being come, very early before sun-rise, we went farther to the northward, to seek for our ship, which we feared we had lost ; but we were not gone far, when we espied her at sea. Hereupon we passed a point of land, and entered a certain bay, which was about a mile deep, and not above half a league over : in this bay we put, and instantly made a fire, thereby to shew the ship whereabouts we were. Here we found good watering and wooding close to the shore. In this bay we also saw another sort of amphibious animal, which I imagined to be the same, that by some authors

thors is called a sea-lion: these animals are six times bigger than seals; their heads are like that of a lion, and they have four fins not unlike a tortoise: the hinder parts of these creatures are much like fins, but are drawn after them, as being useless upon the shore: they roared as if they had been lions, and were full of a short thick hair, of a mouse-colour; but that of the young ones was something lighter: the old ones are between twelve and fourteen feet long, and about eleven or twelve feet in thickness or circumference. A seal is very easily killed, as we often experimented; but two of our men with great stones could not kill one of these animals.

That day in the afternoon there came a canoe from on board the ship, with provisions for us, they fearing lest we should be starved: also the launch came with men to cut wood. They told us that the ship came to an anchor in the other bay, but that within half an hour the cable broke, and they were forced to leave their anchor behind them, and get out to sea again: night being come, we made our beds of fern, whereof there is great plenty upon this island; together with great multitudes of trees like English box, the which bore a sort of green berries, smelling like pimento or pepper. All this day the ship was forced to ply off at sea, not being able to get in.

December the 30th. The morning of this day we employed in filling water, and cutting down wood: but in the afternoon, eight of us eleven went aboard the ship, all in one and the same canoe, sending her ashore again with provisions for the men that were there. This day in like manner we could not get into the harbour, for no sooner came the ship within land, but the wind coming out of the bay, blew us clear out again: thus we  
were



were forced to ply out all that night, and great part of the following day.

Next day, having overcome all difficulties and many dangers, we came to an anchor in the afternoon, in fifteen fathom water, at the distance of a cable's length from shore. Here it was observable, that we were forced to keep men ashore on purpose to beat off the seals, while our men filled water, at high water mark, because the seals covet greatly to lie in fresh water. About this island fish is so plentiful, that in less than an hour's time two men caught enough for our whole company.

Saturday, January 1st, 1680. This day we put up a new main top, larger than the old one; and we caught craw fish that were bigger than our English lobsters.

The next day, being January the 2d, died a chief man of our company, whose name was John Hilliard: this man, till our weighing anchor from the port of Coquimbo, had been our master all the space of this voyage; but from that time we chose John Cox for the star-board, and John Fall for the lar-board watch: he died of the dropsy. That evening we buried our dead companion, and gave him a volley for his funeral, according to the usual custom.

January the 3d, we had terrible gusts of wind from the shore every hour: this day our pilot told us, that many years ago a certain ship was cast away upon this island, and only one man saved, who lived alone upon this island five years before any ship came this way to carry him off. The island has excellent land in many valleys belonging thereto: this day likewise we fetched our anchor which we left in the other bay, when the ship broke her cable.

Tuesday, January the 4th, 1680. This day we had such terrible flaws of wind, that the cable of our  
ship

ship broke, and we had undoubtedly been on shore, had not the other held us fast : at last it came home, and we drove outwards : by the way it caught hold of a rock, and held some time, but at last we hauled it up, and the wind came with so much violence, that the waves flew as high as our main-top, and made all the water of a foam.

January the 5th. Notwithstanding these great gusts of wind had continued all the night past, yet this day at noon it was brave and calm. But in the morning the anchor of our ship gave way again, and we drove to the eastward more than half a mile, till at last we happened to fasten again in the depth of sixty fathom water. In this bay, where we rid at anchor, ran a violent current, sometimes into, and at other times out of the bay ; so that all was uncertain with us : but our greatest discomfort was, that our men were all in mutiny against each other, and much divided among themselves : some of them being for going home towards England, or our foreign plantations, and that round about America through the streights of Magellan, as captain Sawkins had designed to do ; others of them being for staying longer, and searching farther into those seas, till such time as they had got more money. This day at noon our anchor drove again ; whereupon, to secure us from that dangerous place, we sailed into the west bay, and anchored there in twenty-five fathom water, and moored our ship a quarter of a mile from shore.

Thursday, January the 6th. Our dissensions being now grown to a great height, the mutineers made a new election of a person to be our chief captain and commander, by virtue whereof they deposed captain Sharp, whom they protested they would obey no longer : they chose therefore one of our company, whose name was John Wauling, to command

command in chief, he having been an old privateer, and gained the esteem of being a stout seaman. The election being made, all the rest were forced to give their assent to it, and captain Sharp gave over his command, whereupon they immediately made articles with Watling, and signed them.

The day following, being the 7th, we burnt and tallowed the star-board side of our ship. In this bay we found a cross cut in the bark of a tree, and several letters besides: hereupon, in another tree up the gully, I engraved the two first letters of my name, with a cross over them. This day likewise William Cook, servant to captain Edmund Cook, confessed that his master had oftentimes buggered him in England, leaving his wife and coming to bed to him; that he had also done the same in Jamaica; and once in these seas before Panama. Searching his writings, we found a paper with all our names in it, which it was suspected he designed to have given to the Spanish prisoners: for these reasons, this evening our captain thought it convenient to put him in irons, which was accordingly done. January the 8th, we finished the other side of our ship.

Sunday, January the 9th. This was the first Sunday that ever we kept by command and common consent, since the loss and death of our valiant commander captain Sawkins, who would throw the dice over-board, if he found them in use on that day.

January the 10th, the weather was very clear and settled again: we caught every day, in this bay, great plenty of fish; and I saw this day a shoal of fish a mile and more long.

Next day, being the 11th, we filled our water, and carried our wood on board the ship. Our two canoes went to the other side of the island to catch

catch goats; for on the barren side thereof are found and caught the best: and by land it is impossible to go from one side of the island to the other.

Wednesday, January the 12th. This morning our canoes returned from catching of goats, firing of guns as they came towards us to give us warning: being come on board, they told us they had espied three sail of ships, which they conceived to be men of war coming about the island. Within half an hour after this notice given by our boats, the ships came in sight to leeward of the island; hereupon we immediately sipt our cables, and put to sea taking all our men on board that were ashore at that time; only one William, a Mosquito Indian, was then left behind upon the island, because he could not be found at this our sudden departure. Upon the island of Juan Fernandez grow certain trees called bilby-trees; the tops of these trees we used as we do cabbage in England: here fish abounds in such quantities, that on the surface of the water, I have taken fish with a bare hook: abundance of fish is taken here of 20 pounds weight; the smallest that is taken being almost two pounds: very good timber for building of houses, and other uses, is likewise found upon this island. It is distant from the main continent the space of ninety five leagues, or thereabouts, being situate in 33 deg. 40 S. The plats of the islands lie N. W. and S. E.

Being got out of the bay, we stood off to sea, and kept to windward as close as we could. The biggest of these Spanish men of war, for such they proved to be, was of the burthen of 800 tons, and was called El Santo Christo, being mounted with 12 guns: the second, named San Francisco, carried 600 tons, and 10 guns: the third carried 350 tons,

sons, whose name I have forgot. As soon as they saw us, they instantly put out their bloody flags; and we, to shew them that we were not as yet daunted, did the same with ours: we kept close under the wind, and were, to confess the truth, very unwilling to fight them, by reason they kept all in a knot together, and we could not single out any one of them from the rest; especially considering, that our present commander Watling had shewed himself at their appearance to be faint-hearted. As for the Spaniards themselves, they might have easily come to us, by reason we lay by several times; but undoubtedly they were cowardly given, and peradventure as unwilling to engage us, as we were to engage them.

The day following, being January the 13th, in the morning, we could see one of the afore-mentioned men of war, under the leeward side of the island; and we believed that the rest were at anchor thereabouts.

At noon that day we stood in towards the island, making as if we intended to be with them; but in the afternoon our commander propounded the question to us, Whether we were willing, now that they fleet was to windward, to bear away from them? to this we all agreed with one consent: and hereupon, night being come, with a fresh wind at S. S. E. we stood away N. E. by N. and gave them handsomely the ship, after having out braved them that day, and the day before.

C H A P. XVI.

*The Bucaniers depart from the isle of Juan Fernandez to that of Yqueque. They take several prisoners, and get intelligence of the posture of affairs at Arica. Cruelty to one of the prisoners, who had rightly informed them. They attempt Arica a second time, and take the town, but are beaten out of it again without plunder, and with a great loss of men, many of them being killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. Captain Watling their chief commander is killed in this attack, and captain Sharp presently chosen again, who leads them off, and through many difficulties makes a bold retreat to the ship.*

HAVING bid our enemies adieu, as was said in the precedent chapter, the next morning being January the 14th, we bore N. E. We reckoned this day a N. N. E. one quarter S. way, and by it, thirty leagues. We were four leagues eastward from the isle of Juan Fernandez, when I took our departure.

Saturday, January the 15th, we had hazy weather: this day we made by a N. E. by N. way, eleven leagues. The same hazy weather continued the 16th; but about ten in the morning we had a perfect calm: our reckoning was a N. E. by N. way, and thirty-six leagues.

On the 17th, we had a soft gale, and a clear observation; we found by it lat. 28 deg. 47 S. easting seventy leagues. The next day we had likewise a clear day, and we reckoned by a N. E. by N. way, thirty-one leagues; by observation lat. 27 deg. 29 S.

Wednesday, January the 19th, we had a clear day,

day, as before, and reckoned a N. E. by N. way, and thirty-five leagues and two thirds; by observation we took lat. 25 deg. 0 S. This day we put up our top-gallant masts and sails, which we had taken at the island of Juan Fernandez, when we thought to have gone directly from thence for the streights of Magellan. But now our resolutions were changed, and our course was bent for Arica, that rich place, the second time, to try what good we could do upon it by another attempt, in order to the making our fortunes there: in the evening we saw land at a great distance.

January the 20th. About midnight past we had a small land wind that sprang up and reached us; at break of day we could descry land again, at the distance of about nine or ten leagues. This day was very hot and calm, easting ninety-two leagues.

On the 21st, we had very little wind, and all along as we went we could descry a barren high land. We sailed N. by E. and N. N. E. along the coast of the continent.

Saturday the 22d, we had very hot weather: this day we sailed N. and N. by E. and looked out continually for the island of Yqueque, which our pilot told us was hereabouts: we kept a just distance from the land, for fear of being descried by the enemy.

The day following, Sunday the 23d, we sailed in like manner N. N. E. along the coast, which seems to be very full of bays hereabouts. By observation this day we took lat. 21 deg. 49 S.

Monday, January the 24th. This day we had an indifferent gale of wind, and we stood N. and by E. the wind being S. S. E. We found latitude by observation 21 deg. 2 S. our whole easting being nine-two leagues and an half. In the afternoon captain Watling our commander, and twenty-five men

men more, departed from the ship in two canoes, with design to seek for and take the island of Yqueque, and there to get intelligence of the posture of affairs at Arica: we were at the distance of twelve leagues from shore, when they went from the ship.

The next day, by a clear observation, we found lat. 20 deg. 40 S. At four in the afternoon returned one of our canoes, bringing word that they could not find the island, though they had searched for it very diligently. At night came the other, being brought back by a wrong sign given us by the first canoe. This second canoe had landed upon the continent, and there found a track, the which they followed for some space: here we found a dead whale, with whose bones the spaniards had built a hut, and set up a cross; there lay also many pieces of broken jars. They observed likewise, that hereabouts, upon the coasts, are many bays, good landing and anchoring for ships. That evening, about seven o'clock, a fresh gang went from the ship to seek the same island; mean while we lay becalmed all night, driving about a league to leeward.

Wednesday, January the 26th, we had extreme hot weather: this day the Spanish pilot told us, that on the continent over against us, a very little way within the land, are very rich mines of silver; but that the Spaniards dared not open them, for fear of an invasion from the enemy. We sailed north, at the distance of about two leagues from shore: at noon we had an observation, and found lat. 20 deg. 21 S. At four o'clock we saw a smoke made by our men, close by a white cliff, which proved to be the island. Hereupon, we immediately sent away another canoe with more men, to supply them in their attempts: but in the mean while the first ca-



noe, which left us in the evening before, came aboard, bringing with them four prisoners, two old white men, and two Indians.

The other canoe, which set out last, brought back molasses, fish, and two jars of wine. To windward of the said island is a small village of eighteen or twenty houses, having a small chapel near it, built of stone, and for ornament sake, it is stuck full of hides, or skins of seals. They found about fifty people in this hamlet, but the greatest part of them made their escape at the arrival of the canoe. To this island barks frequently come from Arica (which is but at a little distance) to fetch clay, of which they have already carried away a considerable quantity. The poor Indians, natives of this island, are forced to bring all the fresh water they use full eleven leagues from thence, that is, from a river named Camarones, to leeward of the island. The bark wherein they used to bring it, was then gone for water, when our men landed upon the place. The surface of this island is all over white, but the bowels are of a reddish sort of earth. From the shore is seen a great path leading over the mountains into the country. The Indians of this island love to eat a sort of leaves that are in taste much like our bay leaves in England; in-somuch that their teeth are died of a green colour, by the continual use thereof. The inhabitants go stark naked, and are a very robust and strong people; notwithstanding they live more like beasts than men.

Thursday, January the 27th. This morning, on board the ship, we examined one of the old men who were taken prisoners upon the island the day before; but finding him in many lyes, as we thought, concerning Arica, our commander ordered him to be shot to death, which was accordingly done.

done. Our old commander, captain Sharp, was much troubled in his mind, and dissatisfied at this cruelty and rash proceeding; whereupon he opposed it as much as he could; but seeing he could not prevail, he took water and washed his hands, saying, 'Gentlemen, I am clear of the blood of this old man; and I will warrant you a hot day for this piece of cruelty, whenever we come to fight at Arica'; which fell out accordingly, as you will see hereafter.

The other old man being under examination, informed us, that the island of Yqueque before mentioned belonged to the governor of Arica, who was proprietor thereof; and that he allowed these men a little wine, and other necessaries, to live upon for their sustenance. That he himself had the superintendence of forty or fifty of the governor's slaves, who caught fish and dried it, for the profit of the said governor; and he sold it afterwards to the inland towns, and reaped a considerable benefit thereby. That by a letter received from Arica, eight days ago, they understood there was then in the harbour of Arica three ships from Chili, and one bark. That they had raised there a fortification mounted with twelve copper guns; but that when we were there before, they had conveyed out of the town to the neighbouring stations, all their plate, gold, and jewels, burying it in the ground, and otherwise concealing it; which, whether it were now brought again or not, he could not tell. That there were two great places, the one at ten, the other at twenty-five leagues distance from Arica, where lay all their strength and treasure. That the day before had passed a post to declare our having been at Coquimbo. That the embargo laid on all vessels going to the northward was now taken off; so that a free passage was allowed them. That by

land it was impossible to go from hence to Arica in less than four or five days, forasmuch as they must carry water for themselves and horses for the whole journey. Lastly, that those arms that were brought from Lima to Arica, as was mentioned above, were now carried from thence to Buenos Ayres. All these things pleased us mighty well. But however, captain Sharp was still much dissatisfied at our shooting the old man: for he had given us a very true information, namely, that Arica was very well fortified, and much better than before; but our misfortune was, that we looked upon his information as a trick only.

The leaves of which we made mention above, are brought down to this island in whole bales, and then distributed to the Indians by a short allowance given to each man. This day we had very hot weather and a S. W. sea. By observation we found latitude 20 deg 13 S. Besides the things above-mentioned, our prisoners informed us, that at Arica the Spaniards had built a breast-work round about the town, and one also in every street, that in case one end of it were taken, they might be able to defend the other. We stood off and in for the greatest part of the day. In the afternoon we were eight leagues and a half from shore, with a fresh wind. That morning we took the bark that was at the river of Camarones to fill water for the island.

Friday, January the 28th. Last night about midnight we left the ship, and put ourselves aboard the bark before-mentioned, the launch, and four canoes with design to take Arica by surprizal. We rowed and sailed all night, making in for the shore.

Saturday, January the 29th. About break of day we got under shore, and there hid ourselves among the rocks all day, fearing lest we should be descried by the enemy before we came to Arica. At this time

time we were about five leagues to southward of it, near Quebrada de San Vitor. Night being come, we rowed away from thence.

Sunday, January the 30th, 1680. This day, in the morning about sun-rise, we landed amongst some rocks, at the distance of four miles, or thereabout, to the southward from Arica. We put on shore in all ninety-two men, the rest remaining in the boats to keep and defend them from being surprized by the enemy, to the intent we might leave behind us a safe retreat in case of necessity. With these men we left strict orders, that if we made one smoke from the town or adjoining fields, they should come after us towards the harbour of Arica with one canoe; but in case we made two, that they should bring all away, leaving only fifteen men in the boats. As we marched from our landing place towards the town, we mounted a very steep hill, and saw from thence no men, nor forces of the enemy; which caused us to hope we were not as yet descried, and that we should wholly surprize them. But when we were come about half way to the town, we spied three horsemen, who mounted the Look-out hill; and seeing us upon our march, they rid down full speed to the city, to give notice of our approach. Our commander, Watling, chose out forty of our number to attack the fort; and sent us away first thitherwards, the rest being designed for the town. We that were appointed for the fort, had ten hand-granadoes among us, when we gave the assault, and with them, as well as with our other arms, we attacked the castle, and exchanged several shot with our enemies. But at last, seeing our main body in danger of being over-borne with the number of our enemies, we gave over that attempt on the fort, and ran down in all haste to the valley to help and assist

B 4 them

them in the fight. Here the battle was very desperate, and they killed three, and wounded two more of our men from their outworks before we could gain upon them. But our rage increasing with our wounds, we still advanced, and at last beat the enemy out of all, and filled every street in the city with dead bodies. The enemy made several retreats to several places, from one breast-work to another, and we had not a sufficient number of men wherewithal to man all places taken. Infomuch, that we had no sooner beat them out of one place, but they came another way, and manned it again with new forces and fresh men.

We took in every place where we vanquished the enemy, a great number of prisoners, more indeed, than peradventure we ought to have done, or we knew well what to do withal; they being too many for such a small body as ours was to manage. These prisoners informed us, that we had been descried no less than three days before from the island of Yqueque, whereby they were in expectation of our arrival every hour, knowing we had still a design to make a second attempt upon that place. That into the city were come 400 soldiers from Lima, the which, besides their own, had brought 700 arms for the use of the country people, and that in the town they had 600 armed men, and in the fort 300.

Being now in possession of the city, or the greatest part thereof, we sent to the fort, commanding them to surrender: but they would not send us any answer. Hereupon we advanced towards it, and gave it a second attack, wherein we persisted very vigorously for a long time. Being not able to carry it, we got upon the top of a house that stood near it, and from thence fired down into the fort, killing many of their men, and wounding them at our ease and pleasure. But while we were busied in this attack, the  
rest

rest of the enemy's forces had taken again several posts of the town, and began to surround us in great numbers, with design to cut us off. Hereupon we were constrained to desist the second time; as before, from assaulting the fort, and make head against them. This we had no sooner done, but their numbers and vigour increasing every moment, we found ourselves to be overpowered, and consequently we thought it convenient to retreat to the place where our wounded men were under the hands of our surgeons, that is to say, our hospital. At this time our new commander, captain Watling, both our quarter-masters, and a great many more of our men were killed, besides those that were wounded and disabled from fighting. So that now the enemy rallying against us, and beating us from place to place, we were in a very distracted condition, and in more likelihood to perish every man than escape the bloodiness of that day. Now we found the words of captain Sharp true, being all very sensible that we had a day too hot for us, after that cruel heat in killing and murdering in cold blood the old Mestiso Indian, whom we had taken prisoner at Yqueque, as we mentioned before.

Being surrounded with difficulties on all sides, and in great disorder, having no body to give orders what was to be done, we were glad to have our eyes upon our good old commander, captain Bartholomew Sharp, and beg of him very earnestly to commiserate our condition, and carry us off. It was a great while before he would take any notice of our request; so much was he displeased with the former mutiny of our people against him, all which had been occasioned by the instigation of Mr. Cook. But Sharp is a man of an undaunted courage, and excellent conduct, not fearing the least to look an insulting enemy in the face, and a person that knows

both the theory and practice of navigation as well as most do. Hereupon at our earnest request and petition he took upon him the command in chief again, and began to distribute his orders for our safety. He would have brought off our surgeons, but they having been drinking while we assaulted the fort, would not come with us when they were called. They killed and took of our number twenty eight men, besides eighteen that we brought off, who were desperately wounded. At this time we were all extreme faint for want of water and victuals, whereof we had none all that day; we were likewise almost choaked with the dust of the town, being so much raised by the work that their guns had made, that we could scarce see each other. They beat us out of the town, and then followed us into the Savanhas, or open fields, still charging as fast as they could. But when they saw that we rallied again, resolved to die one by another, they ran from us into the town, and sheltered themselves under their breast-works. Thus we retreated in as good order as we possibly could observe in that confusion. But their horsemen followed us as we retired, and fired at us all the way, though they would not come within the reach of our guns, for theirs reached farther than ours, and out-shot us above one third. We took the sea side for our greater security; which when the enemy saw, they betook themselves to the hills, rolling down great stones, and whole rocks to destroy us. Meanwhile those of the town examined our surgeons, and other men whom they had made prisoners. These gave them our signs that we had left to our boats that were behind us, so that they immediately blew up two fires, which were perceived by the canoes. This was the greatest of our dangers. For had we not come at that instant that we did to the sea side, our boats had been gone, they being already under  
sail,

sail, and we had inevitably perished every man. Thus we put off from the shore, and got on board about ten at night, having been involved in a bloody fight with the enemy all that day.

C H A P. XVII.

*A description of the bay of Arica. They sail from hence to the port of Guasco, where they get provisions. Description of the said port. They land again at Hilo to revenge the former affronts, and took what they could find.*

OUR attempt at Arica being over, January ult. we plied to and fro in the sight of the port, to see if they would send out the three ships we had seen in the harbour to fight us : for upon them we hoped to revenge the defeat and disappointment we had received at the town the day before. But our expectations in this point also were frustrated, for not one of those vessels offered to stir.

The houses of this town of Arica are not above eleven feet high, as being built of earth, and not of brick or timber. The town itself is four-square, and at one corner stands the castle, which may easily be commanded, even with small arms, from the hill which lies close to it. This place is the embarcadero, or port-town of all the mineral towns that lie hereabouts, and hence is fetched all the plate that is carried to Lima, the head city of Peru.

On Tuesday, February the 1st, we had a clear observation, and by it we found lat. 19 deg. 6 S. This day we shared the old remains of our plate taken in some of our former booties. Our shares amounted only to thirty-seven pieces of eight each man.

B 6

N. B.



N. B. *Here I would have my reader to take notice, that from this day forwards I kept no constant Diary or Journal, as I had done before, at least for some considerable space of time, as you shall see hereafter: my disease and sickness at sea being the occasion of intermitting what I had never failed to do in all the course of this voyage till now; only some few memorandums, as my weakness gave leave, I now and then committed to paper, the which I shall give you as I find them, towards the continuance of this history, Thus:*

Monday, February the 14th. This night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, William Cook died on board our ship, who was servant to captain Edmund Cook, of whom mention hath been made in this journal: he desisted not, even at his last, to accuse his master of bugging him, as before was related: moreover, that his master should say, 'It was no sin to steal from us, who thought it none to rob the Spaniards.'

February the 16th, 1680. This day we found ourselves in lat. 27 deg. 30 south. We had a constant breeze at S. E. and S. S. E. till we got about 200 leagues from land; then at the eclipse of the moon, we had a calm for two or three days, and then a breeze at north for two days; after which we had a calm again for two or three days more.

March the 1st, we found latitude by observation 34 deg. 1 south. At this time begins the dirty weather in these seas. We lay under a pair of courses, the wind being at S. E. and E. S. E. with a very great sea at S. S. E.

March the 3d, all hands were called up, and a council held; wherein, considering it was now dirty weather, and late in the year, we bore up the helm, and resolved to go to the main for water, and thence to leeward, and so march over land towards home, or at least to the north sea: but God diverted us from

from following this resolution, as you shall hear hereafter : we being thus determined that day, we stood N. E. with a strong wind at S. E. and E. S. E.

March the 5th, died our Coquimbo Indian. The 7th we had a west wind, our course being E. by N. The 8th of the said month we were put to an allowance, having only one cake of bread a day. March the 10th, we had a strong south wind.

March the 12th, we fell in with the main land; something to leeward of Coquimbo, within the island of Paxaros, are double lands, in whose valleys are fires for melting of copper, with which metal these hills abound. Off to sea board is a rocky land, and within sandy. About the distance of eight leagues to leeward is a rocky point, with several keys or rocks about it : about half a mile to leeward of this point turns in the port of Guasco; right against the anchoring are three rocks close under the shore.

Being arrived here, we landed threescore men of our company, with design to get provisions; or any thing we could purchase. The people of the country ran all away as soon as they saw us. There was building on the shore, in this port, a fire bark of sixteen or eighteen tons burthen, with a cock-boat belonging to it. We took one Indian prisoner, and with him went up the space of six or seven miles into the country, to an Indian town of three or fourscore houses; from thence we came back to the church, which is about four miles from the sea side, and lodged there all night. Here are multitudes of good sheep and goats in the country adjoining to this port, and it is watered with an excellent fresh water river; but the getting of water is very difficult, the banks being very high, or otherwise inaccessible : however, we made a shift to get in five hundred jars of water; furthermore, we brought away one hundred

dred-and-twenty sheep, and fourscore goats, with which stock we victualled our vessel for a while: as for oxen, they had driven them away farther up into the country. The jurisdiction of Guasco itself is governed by a teniente or deputy governor, and a friar, and is in subjection to the city of la Serena above-mentioned, as having a dependence thereupon: here grows both corn, pease, beans, and several other sorts of grain; and for fruits, this place is not inferior to Coquimbo. Here we found likewise a mill to grind corn, and about two hundred bushels thereof ready ground, the which we conveyed on board our ship. Every house of any account hath branches of water running through their yards or courts. The inhabitants had hid their wine, and the best of their goods, as plate and jewels, having descried us at sea before our landing; so that our booty here, besides provisions, was inconsiderable: however, we caught some few fowls, and eat five or six sheep, and likewise a great hog which tasted very like our English pork. The hills are all barren, so that the country that beareth fruit, is only an excellent valley, being four times as broad as that of Hilo above-mentioned. These people of Guasco serve the town of Coquimbo with many sorts of provisions. We gave the Indian, whom we had taken, his liberty, and I took the port of Guasco thus.

Tuesday, March the 15th, 1680. This morning we departed from the port of Guasco afore-mentioned, with very little wind, having done nothing considerable there, except only the taking in the few provisions above related: we were bent therefore to seek greater matters, having met with ill success in most of our attempts hitherto.

We had now very dark weather all along the coast: March the 21st, we were west from the bay of Mexellones:

Mexellones: the point of this bay, one league upwards, represents a sugar-loaf exactly.

March the 22d. This day our boats and canoes went from the ship, being well manned, to find the river Loa; they went also about two leagues to leeward of it, to a fishing village, but could find no place fit for landing, whereupon they returned without doing any thing: the next day another canoe of our company went out upon the same exploit, but found the same success: notwithstanding, here Sir Francis Drake watered, and built a church, as we were told by our pilot. This church is now standing on the sea-side by the river, whose mouth is now dry. There are several huts to the windward of it; and from the said church or chapel goes a great path up the hills, which lead to Pica.

Thursday, March the 24th, we found latitude by observation 20 deg. 10 south. This day also we saw land at about eighteen leagues distance.

Sunday, March the 27th, we saw Mora de Sama and La Cumba at some distance. The same day we had an observation, and found it lat. 18 deg. 17 south. That evening we parted from the ship with our boats and canoes towards the coast of Hilo, upon which we now were: we landed and took the village of Hilo undescried, they scarce suspecting we could have any design upon that place a second time: we caught the friar who was chaplain to the town, and most of the inhabitants asleep, making them prisoners of war. Here we heard a flying report, as if five thousand English had taken Panama a second time, and were in possession of it. But this rumour proved to be a falsity, as it then seemed. At this time the river came out, and was overflowed, it being near the time of the freshes. Here the prisoners told us, that in Arica ten of our men were still alive, whereof three were surgeons, all the rest being dead of

of their wounds. The Spaniards sent word to Hilo, that we had killed them seventy men, and wounded three times as many of their forces. But here the inhabitants said, that of forty-five men sent to the relief of Arica from hence, there came home only two alive. We filled what water we pleased here; but a small boat that we brought from Guasco broke loose from us, and was staved to pieces on the rocks. Here we took eighteen jars of wine, and good store of new figs. On Tuesday following we went up to the sugar-work mentioned in our former expedition against Hilo, and found all the fruits just ripe, and fit for eating: there we landed seven mules downwards with molasses and sugar. The inhabitants told us further, that those men who came to fight us when we were here the first time, were most of them boys, and had only fifty fire arms amongst them: they being commanded by an English gentleman, who is married to Arequiqua. Likewise that the owner of the sugar-work before-mentioned was now engaged in a suit of law against the town of Hilo; pretending it was not the English who robbed him, and spoiled his ingenio, when we were there before, but the townsmen themselves. This day in the evening we sailed for Hilo with dark weather, and little wind, which continued for several days afterwards.

C H A P.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*They depart from the port of Hilo to the gulf of Nicoya, where they take down their decks, and mend the sailing of their ship. Forty-seven of their companions leave them, and go home over land. A description of the gulf of Nicovo; they take two barks and some prisoners there. Several other remarks belonging to this voyage.*

FROM the time that we set sail from the port of Hilo, till Sunday, April the 10th, 1681, nothing happened to us that might be accounted remarkable; neither did I take any notes all this while, by reason of my indisposition afore-mentioned. This day we could hear distinctly the breaking of the seas upon the shore, but could see no land, the weather being extreme dark and hazy. Notwithstanding about noon it cleared up, and we found ourselves to be in the bay called de Malabrigo: the land in this bay runs due east and west. By an observation made this day, we found 6 deg. 35 south. We saw from hence the leeward island of Labos, or Seals, being nothing but a rocky scraggy place. On the S. W. side thereof is a red hill, much frequented by the Indian fishermen. It is situate in lat. 6 deg. 15 S. This day likewise in the evening we saw the point called Aguja.

On Saturday, April the 16th, we came within a league distance of the west end of the island of Plate above described. The next day, being Sunday, April the 17th; 1681, our mutineers broke out again into an open dissension, they having been much dissatisfied all along this voyage, but more especially since our unfortunate fight at Arica, and never entirely reconciled to us since they chose

captain Watling, and deposed Sharp at the isle of Juan Fernandez, as was related above. Nothing now could appease them, nor serve their turn, but a separation from the rest of the company, and leaving us. Hereupon, this day they left the ship, to the number of forty-seven men, all in company together, with design to go over land, by the same way they came into those seas. The rest, who remained behind, did fully resolve, and faithfully promise to each other, that they would stick close together. They took five slaves in their company, to guide and do them other service in that journey. This day we had 1 deg. 30 minutes southern latitude. We sailed N. N. W. before the wind.

Next day after their departure, April the 18th, we began to work about taking down one of our upper decks, thereby to cause our ship still to mend her sailing. We now made a N. W. by N. way; and had lat. by observation 25 north, the wind being at S. W.

April the 19th, we made a N. W. by N. way. This day our observation was lat. 2 deg. 45 north. In the afternoon we had cloudy weather. The following day likewise we made the same way, and by it seventy miles, according to my reckoning.

The 21st in the morning we had some small showers of rain, and but little wind. We saw some turtle upon the surface of the water, and great quantity of fish. We caught twenty-six small dolphins. By a N. W. by N. way, we reckoned this day forty miles.

April 22d. This day we caught seven large dolphins, and one bonito. We saw likewise whole multitudes of turtles swimming upon the water, and took five of them. We had an observation that gave us lat. 5 deg. 28 N. Hereabouts runs a great strong current. This day we lowered the  
quarter

quarter deck of our ship, and made it even with the upper deck.

The day following we had but small wind, and yet great showers of rain ; hereupon every man saved water for himself ; and a great quantity was saved for the whole company. In the morning we caught eight bonito's, and in the evening ten more.

April the 24th, we had both cloudy and rainy weather. By an observation we had lat. 7 deg. 37 N. Meridian difference was ninety-two leagues. This morning we caught forty bonito's, and in the evening thirty more. In the afternoon we stood north, the wind being at S. W. by S.

Monday, April the 25th. All the night before we had large gusts of wind and rain. At break of day we were close in with land, which, upon examination, proved to be the island of Cano. To westward thereof is very high land. About noon this day it cleared up, and we had lat. 8 deg. 34 N. In the evening we sent a canoe to search the island : in it they found good water, and even ground, but withal an open road. At night we stood off the first watch, and the last we had a land wind.

The day following, at day-light, we stood in, and about noon we came to an anchor at the east side of the island afore-mentioned, which is not above one league over. In the afternoon we removed from our former anchoring-place, and anchored again within shot of the N. E. point of the island. All over this isle grow abundance of cocoa-trees. On the north side thereof are many rivulets of good water to be found in sandy bays. We saw some good hogs on shore, whercof we killed one, and two pigs. Here are great numbers of turtle-doves, and huge store of fish, but withal very shy to be caught.

April



April the 27th, we had some rain and wind the fore-part of the day; but the afternoon was fair. The next day, in like manner, we had great quantity of rain. On Saturday the 30th, about seven o'clock in the morning, we weighed from the aforesaid island with little wind, and stood N. W. That day fell much rain, with great thunder and lightning.

Monday, May the 2d. This day we observed and found lat. 9 deg. N. The coast all along appeared to us very high and mountainous, and scarce six hours did pass but we had thunder, lightning, and rain. The like continued for the two days following.

May the 5th, we had an indifferent fair day; and at evening we were right off the gulf of Nicoya.

Friday, May the 6th. This morning we saw the cape very plain before us: N. by E. from it, are certain keys at eight leagues distance, close under the main. We steered N. N. W. towards the biggest of them; at whose E. S. E. side are two or three small rocks. The main eastward is fine savanna, or plain and even land, through which goes a very great road, which is to be seen off at sea. At noon the port of Caldero, commonly called Puerto Caldero, bore N. from us; at which time the ebb forced us to found in the middle of the gulf, where we found fourteen fathom water: after this we anchored nearer the eastern keys, in the depth of nineteen fathom, where we had oozy ground.

Saturday, May the 7th. The night before was very fair all night long; in the morning we went in a canoe, being several in company, to seek for a place to lay our ship in: amongst the islands along the shore we found many brave holes, but little or no water in them, and therefore not for our purpose. On one of the said islands we found a hat, and many jars of water, by which we knew that people had lately been there: about eight in the evening

our

our ship weighed anchor at young flood, and about three in the afternoon we anchored again in five fathom water.

Saturday, May the 8th, 1681. The night before we had much rain, with thunder and lightning. The morning being come, our commander, captain Sharp, left the ship in two canoes, with twenty-two men in his company, out of design to surprize any vessels or people they could meet herabouts. Mean while, in the evening we drove up with the tide there being no wind, in the ship, two or three leagues higher, till we found but three fathom high water; here we backed a-stern. At this time we saw one of our canoes coming off from the island that was at head of us (which was named Chira) calling for more men and arms, saying, there were two sail of ships higher up the gulf. Hereupon, eight of us went with them ashore, whereof two joined the party afore-mentioned, and the six remaining were appointed to guard the prisoners they had taken: to these we shewed ourselves very kind, as finding they were sensible of the cruelties of the Spaniards towards them and their whole nation. Here we found to the number of eight or nine houses, and a small chapel standing: these people have been in former times a considerable and great nation, but are now almost destroyed and extinguished by the Spaniards. We ascended a league up a creek of the sea, or thereabouts, and took by surprizal two barks, which were the two sail they had told us of before: one of these barks was the same we had taken before at Panama, of which I made mention at the beginning of this history.

The Monday following we weighed anchor with our barks, and drove down the creek, with the tide at ebb towards our ship. The prisoners we had taken here, informed us, that when we were to  
westward

westward in these seas before, there lay 100 men at the port of Santa Maria: that our men, who left us at the island Cayboa, as was mentioned above, met the other bark that we lost at sea, as we were sailing thither, and so went all over land together: that in the north seas, near Puerto Velo, they had taken a good ship, to be revenged of the Spaniards, who stop up the mouth of Santa Maria, with design to hinder others from passing that way. At night our captain with twenty-four men went from the ship in another creek, and there took several prisoners, among whom was a shipwright and his men, who were judged able to do us good service in the altering our ship; those carpenters being actually building two great ships for the Spaniards. Having taken these men, they made a float of timber, to bring down the tools and instruments they were working withal: they also put several tools, and a considerable quantity of iron-work into a doree, to be conveyed down the river, which sunk by the way, as being overladen with iron; and one of our company, named John Alexander, a Scotsman, was unfortunately drowned in her.

Thursday following, May the 12th, we sent a canoe from the ship, and found the doree that was drowned: that evening likewise drove down the body of our drowned man afore-mentioned; hereupon we took him up, and on Friday morning following threw him overboard, giving him three French vollies for his customary ceremony. Both this day and the day before, we fetched water from a point near the houses, on the island of Chira afore-mentioned: from the ship also we sent away a Spanish merchant, whom we had taken among the prisoners, to fetch a certain number of beeves, that might serve for a ransom of the new bark taken here.

here. This day the weather was fair, but on Sunday following it rained from morning till night.

Monday, May the 16th, we began to work all on our ship. Tuesday, an Indian boy, named Peter, ran away from us; he belonged to captain Sawkins, and waited upon him as a servant. Wednesday died an Indian slave, whose name was Salvador. Thursday we heard thirty or forty guns fired on the main, which made us think these would also turn to Hilo beeves. Friday, we caught cockles, which were as large as both our fists: at night there fell such dreadful rain, with thunder, lightning, and wind, that for the space of two hours the air was as light as day; the thunder not ceasing all the while.

Saturday night, we had more thunder, lightning, and rain. Sunday, we continued our work.

Wednesday, May the 25th. This day we finished our great piece of work, viz. the taking down the deck of our ship: besides which, the length of every mast was shortened, and all our work finished; in-somuch, that it would seem incredible should I here give an account how much work we did in a fortnight or less. The same day likewise we set at liberty our Spanish carpenters, who had been very serviceable to us all this while; the old pilot, the old Spaniard taken at the isle of Yqueque, and several other of our Spanish prisoners and slaves. To these people, but chiefly to the Spanish carpenters, as a reward of their good service, we gave the new bark which we had taken at this place; but the old bark we thought fit to keep, and sail her in our company, as we did, putting into her for this purpose six of our own men and two slaves. The next day we fell down as low as Vanero, a place so called hereabouts, and would have sailed away again that very evening; but that our tackle gave way in hoisting our anchor, which made us lie still. In the

the gulf of Nicoya we had commonly a fresh breeze, and at night a land wind.

Friday, May the 27th. This day likewise we drove down with the tide as low as Cavallo, another place in the gulf: here we staid and watered that day; and one Cannis Marcy, our interpreter, ran away from us.

May the 28th, in the morning we sailed from thence, and came within twenty-nine leagues of that rich and rocky shore; yet, notwithstanding we had but seven fathom water here, I saw a white porpus. Behind this island is a town called New Cape Blanco. At Puerto Caldero above-mentioned is but one storehouse: we came to an anchor in the depth of seven fathom water, at the distance of a league from shore, and caught five turtles.

May the 29th. This day we saw Cape Blanco. Both this day, and the day following, we continued turning it out of the gulf against a south wind.

## C H A P. XIX.

*They go from Nicoya to Golfo Dulce, where they carcen their vessel. An account of their sailings along the coast. The Spaniards force the Indians of Darien to a peace by a stratagem contrived in the name of the English.*

**W**EDNESDAY, June the 1st, 1681. This day we had very fair weather, yet but little wind; hereupon the tide, or current, drove us to the westward of Cabo Blanco: off this cape, and at the distance of two miles within the sea, is situate a very bare key.

The coast here along runs N. W. half W. and grows lower and lower towards cape Guyones: this cape now mentioned, at seven leagues distance; and

and at N. W., by N. at first sight appeared like two islands : the latter part of this day was cloudy, which hindered our prospect.

June the 2d. This morning we saw land, which appeared like several keys at N. W. by N. and at seven leagues distance : it was the land of Puerto de Velas.

This evening our captain called us together, and asked our opinions of the course we should steer : having discussed the points by him proposed amongst us, we all resolved to bear up for Golfo Dulce, and there to careen our vessels : this being done, we concluded to go from thence to the cape, and cruize thereabouts under the æquinoctial. We observed this day that our bark, taken at the gulf of Nicoya, sailed much better than our ship.

Friday, June the 3d. The night before was very fair, and we had a fresh wind, our course being W. and W. by N. In the evening we stood N. E. and descried land at the distance of about twenty-four leagues from Cabo Blanco.

Sunday, June the 5th. Last night we lay by the greatest part thereof : this morning we saw the island of Cano above described, which bore E. S. E. from us : we saw multitudes of fish, but they would not bite ; also water-snakes of divers colours.

June the 6th. All the night past we had rain, with little wind, scarce enough to carry us clear off from the island afore-mentioned : towards morning we had a fresh wind at N. N. W. So we stood out S. till morning, and then we stood N. E. by E. The land runs from Punta Mala to Golfo Dulce, and Punta Borrica, E. S. E. half S. at nine leagues distance we laid the island of Cano.

The west end of Golfo Dulce is very high land, and a high rock lies close off it ; besides which, two other rocks lie farther out ; the outermost of which



is a mile distant from the shore. The east side is also high, but breaks into small points and bays, growing lower and lower to Punta Borrica. We came about a mile within the mouth of the gulf; then we anchored in eight fathom and a half water. The mouth of the gulf is almost three leagues over.

The next day, being June the 7th, we weighed anchor again at young flood, and got about two leagues higher: at evening we came again to anchor in the depth of seven fathom and a half water: it rained so hard this day till eight o'clock, that the drops could not be distinguished one from another.

Wednesday, June the 8th. At day-break we weighed anchor again, with a fresh sea-breeze: the higher up we went, the deeper we found the gulf, and at last no ground, even with thirty fathom line: this day we sent our canoe away to seek water, and a good place to lay our ship in. Having landed, we found one Indian and two boys, all which we made prisoners, and brought aboard. We used them very kindly, giving them victuals and clothes, for they had nothing but the bark of a tree to cover their nakedness withal: being examined, they informed us that a Spanish priest had been amongst them, and had made peace with their nation, ordering them strictly not to come near any ship or vessel that had red colours; for they were Englishmen, and would certainly kill them. Being asked where the priest was; they answered he was gone to a great Spanish town, four sleeps up in the country. After this, the Indian left the two boys, his children, with us, and went to fetch more Indians to us, from a plantane-wall or grove situate by a river about a league off. We came to an anchor in a bay close by one of the Indian keys, where two fresh rivers were within a stone's throw of each other, in twenty-seven fathom and a half water, and at a cable's length from the mark

mark of low water. The Indians, whom our prisoners went to seek, came to us several times, selling us honey, plantanes, and other necessaries that we usually bought of them, or trucked for with other things. We also made use of their bark-logs in tallowing our ship, in which case they did us good service. Their darts are headed with iron as sharp as any razor.

Here one of the prisoners which we took at the gulf of Nicoya informed us by what means, or rather stratagem of war, the Spaniards had forced a peace upon the Indians of the province of Darien, since our departure from thence. The manner was as follows. A certain Frenchman, who ran from us, at the island of Taboga, to the Spaniards, was sent by them in a ship to the river's mouth, which emptied itself from that province into the South-sea. Being arrived there, he went ashore by himself in a canoe, and told the Indians, that the English, who had passed that way, were come back from their adventures in the South-sea. Withal, he asked them, if they would not be so kind and friendly to the Englishmen, as to come aboard and conduct them on shore? the poor deceived Indians were very joyful to understand this good news; and thus forty of the chiefest of them went on board the Spanish vessel, and were immediately carried prisoners of war to Panama. Here they were forced to conclude a peace, though upon terms very disadvantageous to them, before they could obtain their liberty.

These poor and miserable Indians of Golfo Dulce would come every day in our company, and eat and drink very familiarly with us all the time we were there. We laid our ship on ground, but the water did not ebb low enough to see her keel. While we were carening our vessel, we built a house upon the



shore, both to lodge and eat in ; and every day we caught plenty of good fish.

Sunday, June the 12th. The work of careening our ship going on in due order, we came to cleanse our hold ; and here on a sudden both myself and several others were struck quite blind with the filth and nastiness of it : yet soon after we recovered our sight again, without any other help than the benefit of the fresh air.

June the 14th, we had a great and fierce tornado, with which our cable broke, and had it not then happened to be high water at that instant, we had been lost inevitably : however, we had the good fortune to shore her up again, and by that means secure ourselves from farther danger.

June the 21st, we weighed anchor again, and went a league higher than the former place. Here we watered, and in the mean while left men below to cut wood.

Thursday, June the 23d. This day ran away from us two negroes : the name of one of them was Hernando, who was taken, with don Thomas de Argandona, upon the coast of Guayaquil, as was mentioned above ; the other was named Silvester, taken at the town of Hilo ; following the example of those afore-mentioned.

Monday, June the 27th, that is, four days after, two more of our prisoners endeavoured to make their escape, both of them slaves : one of these was named Francisco, who was a negro, and had been taken in the cocoa ship mentioned before : the name of the other was also Francisco, an Indian born, taken at Panama. Their attempts to escape succeeded not, for we caught them both again before they got on shore.

Tuesday following, I went and sailed up and down the gulf in a little bark belonging to our ship ;

ship; and viewed all the parts of Golfo Dulce: our captain gave this gulf the name of king Charles's harbour.

C H A P. XX.

*They depart from Golfo Dulce, to go and cruize under the equinoctial. Here they take a rich Spanish vessel with 37,000 pieces of eight, besides plate and other goods. They take also a packet-boat bound from Panama to Lima. An account of their sailings and the coasts along.*

OUR vessel being now careened, and all things in a readiness for our departure, Tuesday, June the 28th, in the afternoon, we weighed anchor to go to sea again, turning out towards the mouth of Golfo Dulce. Our design was to cruize under the equinoctial, as had been concluded upon before, thereby to get what purchase we could by sea, seeing the greatest part of our attempts upon land had proved hitherto very unsuccessful to us.

Wednesday, June the 29th. Both the night last past and this day we had rainy weather. About three in the afternoon a fresh gale sprang up at S. W. and S. S. W. our course being S. E. and S. E. by S. At five this evening the gulf bore N. W. by W. being seven leagues distant, and Punta Borrica three leagues and a half distant.

Thursday, June the 30th. All night past we enjoyed a fresh gale at S. S. W. We sailed in the bark, where I was, better than the man of war; for so we called the Trinity vessel; notwithstanding she was newly cleansed and tallowed. This day we had hazy weather, and I reckoned myself from Punta Borrica S. S. E. eighteen leagues and a half.

July the 1st, 1681. Last night we had two or  
C 3. three

three tornadoes: I reckoned this day a S. S. E. way, and by a clear observation found lat. 6 deg. 10 north. We saw great quantities of fish as we sailed this day.

July 2d, we made a S. E. way, and our reckoning was 64 by it: by observation I found lat. 5 deg. 20 north. At noon the same day we had a fresh gale at S. W. with some rain.

July the 3d, we had hazy weather. We made a S. S. E. by S. way, 37.

Monday, July the 4th. The night past was windy with rain, which forced us to band our top-sails. Our reckoning this day was a S. E. way, and a hundred miles.

July the 5th. We had a clear night the last past, and withal a fresh gale; by this we made a S. E. way. Our latitude this day gave us 2 deg. 20 north. This morning we saw land southward of us, lying in low hammocks: it was the point of Manglares.

Wednesday, July the 6th, we turned up along shore, and by observation took this day lat. 2 deg. 2 N. Hereabouts every new moon is a windward current. In the evening we were close in with low land: we had windy weather, and a great sea.

Thursday, July the 7th. This day, by observation taken, we found lat. 1 deg. 48 north. In the evening we lost sight of the said ship.

July the 8th, we saw the ship again, for the loss whereof we began to be in some doubt. This day we made very high land all along as we went: and the port, or rather bay, of San Matteo, or St. Matthews, appeared like several islands.

Saturday, July the 9th. This morning we stood fair in with the port of Tucames. Off of the highest part of the land there seems to be a key. This day at noon we had a clear observation, which gave us latitude 1 deg. 22 north.

Sunday,

Sunday, July the 10th. Last night we stood off to sea, thereby to keep clear of the shore. This day's observation shewed us latitude 1 deg. 31 north. About noon the same day, we happened to espy a sail, which we immediately gave chase to. We bore up to the point of the compass, thereby to hinder her lasking away; notwithstanding, in the evening we lost sight of her: however, our great ship got up with her, and about eight of the clock at night made her a prize: she proved to be the ship named San Pedro, which we had taken the last year, being then bound from Truxillo to Panama, and laden with wine, gunpowder, and pieces of eight, whereof mention was made before. We took her twice in less than fourteen months. She had on board her now 21,000 pieces of eight, in eight chests, and in bags 16,000 more, besides plate.

Monday and Tuesday, the 11th and 12th of July, we made in for the shore. Our prize was so hard laden, that she seemed quite buried in the water. She had forty men on board her, besides some merchants and friars. On Tuesday an observation gave us latitude 1 deg. 20 north.

Wednesday, July the 13th. This day we dared not adventure into the bay of San Matteo, because we saw some Indians who had made a great fire on shore, which, as we judged, was designedly done to give intelligence of our arrival: hereupon we bore away for the river of San Iago, about six leagues north-east from the bay before-mentioned.

Thursday, Friday, and Saturday following, we spent in taking out of our prize what parcels of cocoa nuts we thought fit, she being chiefly laden with that commodity. This being done, we cut down the main-mast by the board, and gave them only their main-sail, and thus turning the ship

loose, sent away in her all our old slaves for the good service they had done us, taking new ones from the prize in their room. One only we still detained, who was Francisco the negro, that attempted to run away by swimming ashore.

Sunday, July the 17th. This day we went from the ship, and found the river of San Iago before-mentioned. At the mouth of this river we staid Monday and Tuesday following to take in water, which we now much wanted. On the sides of the river we found good store of plantains: our fresh-water we fetched four miles up the river. We saw several Indians, but could not speak with them, they were so shy of us, being forewarned by the Spaniards not to come near us.

Wednesday, July the 20th, we shared our plunder, or rather made part of the dividend of what we had taken, the rest being reserved to another day. Our prisoners being examined, informed us that the Spaniards had taken up our anchors and cables, which we left behind us at the isle of Juan Fernandez; also that they had surprized the Musquito Indian that we left behind us there on shore, by the light of a fire which he made in the night upon the isle.

Tuesday, July the 21st. All the four-and-twenty hours last past we stood off and in. The next day we shared the rest of our things taken in the prize, as also the money that was in the bags; the rest we laid up to divide upon another occasion; especially when we were got through the streights of Magellan. Our dividend amounted to the sum of 234 pieces of eight a man. Our prisoners informed us this day, that a new viceroy of Peru was arrived at Panama, and that he dared not adventure up to Lima in a ship of twenty-five guns, that was at Panama, for fear of meeting with us at sea, but had chose

chose rather to stay till the Armada came down from Lima to conduct him thither.

July the 23d, we had a fresh breeze at S. W. and the next day a clear obfervation, which gave us only latitude 14 M. north. This day we faw cape St. Francisco, N. E.

Monday, July the 25th. This day we obferved latitude 1 deg. 20 S. and we had S. W. wind. July the 26th. This morning we had a very great dew fallen in the night laft paft. The weather in like manner was very clofe. On Wednesday, July the 27th, we were at S. S. W. of Cape Paffao, and at fix leagues diftance.

The fame morning about feven of the clock we fpied a fail E. S. E. from us, under fhore. We prefently gave her clofe chace, and about noon came up with her. But feveral of her crew got on fhore, and made their efcape, viz. a friar, who was either a paffenger, or chaplain to the veffel, and five negroes. She proved to be a barco de aviso, or packet-boat, that was going with letters from Panama to Lima. In this bark we took, among other prifoners, two white women, who were paffengers to the fame place. Thefe and the reft of the prifoners told us, they had heard at Panama, that we were all gone out of thefe feas homewards over land, and that made them adventure now up towards Lima; otherwife they had not come. This day, and Thursday following, we fpent in rummaging the packet-boat, in which we could find nothing of value, they having fcarce brought any thing with them but the packet. They told us moreover, that the new viceroy of Peru, of whom we made mention above, was fetting forth from Panama, under the conduct of three fail of fhips; one of fixteen, another of eight, and a third of fix guns: that a general peace was all over Europe, except only that

the English had wars with the Algerines by sea, and the Spaniards by land. Having got what we could out of the prisoners and the vessel, we gave them their liberty, and sent them away in the same bark, as being desirous not to encumber ourselves with more than we could well manage. That night we stood out to sea all night long, most of our men being fuddled.

## C H A P. XXI.

*They take another Spanish ship richly laden, under the equinoctial. They make several dividends of their booty among themselves. They arrive at the isle of Plate, where they are in danger of being all massacred by their slaves and prisoners. Their departure from thence for the port of Paita, with design to plunder the said place.*

NEXT morning, after we had turned away the packet-boat before-mentioned, the weather being very close, we spied another sail creeping close under our lee. This vessel looked mighty big; so that we thought she had been one of their chiefest men of war, who was sent to surprize or destroy us. Notwithstanding our brave commander, captain Sharp, resolved to fight, and either take her though never so big, or she us: in order thereto, coming nearer her, we easily perceived she was a merchant ship of great bulk, as most Spanish vessels are, and withal very deeply laden. Being up with them, they fired three or four guns at us first, thinking to make their party good against us; but we answered them briskly with a continual volley of small arms, so that they soon run down into the hold, and surrendered, crying aloud for quarter. We killed in that volley their captain, and one seaman, and also wounded

wounded their boatswain. The loss of their commander so daunted them, he being a man of good repute in those seas, that they surrendered immediately. Captain Sharp, with twelve more of our company, entered her first. In this vessel I saw the beautifullest woman that ever I saw in the South-sea. The name of the captain of the vessel was don Diego Lopez, and the ship was called El Santo Rosario, or the Holy Rosary. The men we found on board her were about forty.

Having examined our prisoners, they informed us, that the day before they set sail from El Callao (from which port they were going towards Panama) our men, whom they had taken prisoners at Arica, were brought into that place; and that they had been very civilly entertained there by all sorts of people, but more especially by the women. That one of our surgeons, whom we suspected to be Mr. Bullock, was left behind, and remained still at Arica.

We lay at anchor from Friday, July the 29th, which was the day we took this prize, till Wednesday following, under Cape Passao, the place we anchored at before. Here we sunk the bark we had taken at the gulf of Nicoya, being willing to make use of what rigging she had, and also to contract our number of men. In the mean while we took a great deal of plate out of the prize, and some money ready coined, besides six hundred and twenty jars of wine and brandy, and other things. Thus, leaving only the foremast standing in the vessel, we turned her away, as we had done the others before, together with all the prisoners in her, giving them their liberty, not being willing to be encumbered with them; and withal, being desirous to spare our provisions as much as we could. We detained only one man, named Francisco, who was a Bis-



canier, because he told us himself he was the best pilot in those seas. This being done, we shared all the plate and linen taken in her, and weighed from thence, standing S. S. E. with a fresh wind.

Friday, August the 4th. This day we shared the ready money taken in the Rosario; our last prize. Our dividend came to ninety-four pieces of eight a man. We were now at N. E. of Cape Passao, under which all these prizes were taken.

The land runs S. E. and is for five leagues together, to windward of this cape, all mountainous and high land.

Next day, being August the 5th, we completed our dividends, sharing this day all our odd money ready coined, and plate, with some other things.

Saturday, August the 6th. This day perusing some letters taken in the last prize, I understood by them that the Spaniards had taken prisoner one of the last party of our men that left us; also, that they were forced to fight all their way over land as they went, both against the Spaniards and Indians; these having made peace with the Spaniards since our departure, as was mentioned above: that our Englishmen had killed, amongst other Spaniards, the brother of captain Assientos, and captain Alonso, an officer so named. Moreover, that ten sail of privateers were coming out of the North-sea, with intent to march over land into the South-sea, as we had done before, but that they were prevented, being forced back by the great rains that fell near the islands called Zemblas.

August the 7th, we had very fair weather, and notwithstanding sometimes strong winds from shore, and a strong current to leeward. This ran so fierce against us the next day, August the 8th, that in four-and-twenty hours we lost three leagues.

Tuesday, August the 9th, we saw the port and town

town of Manta; being only sixteen or seventeen straggling houses, with a large and high brick church belonging to it. What we got in the day by the help of the wind, we lost in the night by the current. The same fortune we had the next day, for we still gained no way all this while.

Thursday, August the 11th. All the night past we had but little wind: this day we had a violent current to windward, as before, with some gusts of wind. However, by the help of these, we made shift to get to windward of the isle of Plate.

August the 12th, in the morning, we came to anchor at the aforesaid isle: we sent our boat ashore with men, as we had done formerly, to kill goats, but we found them extreme shy to what they were the last year. Here it was that our quarter-master James Chappel and myself fought a duel on shore. In the evening our slaves agreed among themselves, and plotted to cut us all in pieces when we were asleep, not giving quarter to any: they conceived this night afforded them the fittest opportunity, by reason we were all in drink; but they were discovered to our commander by one of their own companions: and one of them named San Iago, whom we brought from Yqueque, leapt overboard; who notwithstanding was shot in the water by our captain, and thus punished for his treason: the rest laid the fault on that slave, and so it passed, we being not willing to enquire any farther into the matter, having terrified them with the death of their companion. We lay at this isle till Tuesday following, and in the interim gave our vessel a pair of boots and tops, being very merry all the while with the wine and brandy we had taken in the prize.

Tuesday, August the 16th. In the afternoon, we weighed from thence with a S. W. wind.

Wednesday, August the 17th. We got east of the

the island this morning, two leagues and a half distance.

All the day till the morning we had a leeward current, but then I could not perceive any.

Thursday, August the 18th. This evening we were to windward of the island of Solango. In the night before we had a continual misty rain. At noon the aforesaid island bore N. by E. of us; at three leagues distance.

About three leagues from Solango are two rocks, called Los Abercados: they appear both high and black. Besides this, N. N. E. from point St. Helena, is a high rock, which to windward thereof runs shoaling for the space of half a mile under water: it is distant about eight leagues from the said point, and is called Chanduy. At this place, and upon this rock, was lost the ship afore-mentioned, that was ordered from these seas to the aid of Charles the First, king of England. This ship had on board, as the Spaniards relate, many millions of pieces of eight, being sent as a present to him, he being then in his troubles, by the merchants of Lima. The rock afore-mentioned lies about two leagues distant from the main.

August the 29th. This day our pilot told us, that since we were to windward, a certain ship that was coming from Lima, bound for Guayaquil, ran ashore on Santa Clara, losing there in money to the value of 100,000 pieces of eight, which otherwise, peradventure, we might very fortunately have met withal. Moreover, that the viceroy of Peru had beheaded their great admiral Ponce, for not coming to fight and destroy us, while we were at Gorgona. This evening we saw the point Santa Helena, ten leagues to S. S. E. from us.

August the 20th. This day we had both misty and cold weather: in the afternoon we saw la Punta de

de Santa Helena, at N. E. by N. and at about seven leagues distance.

On Sunday, August the 21st, we had a fair and clear day : I reckoned myself to be about twenty-five leagues to the southward of Santa Helena.

August the 22d. This morning about two o'clock we came close in with the shore. We found ourselves to be leeward of a certain point called Punta de Mero, which is only a barren rocky point: here runs an eddy current under the shore.

Tuesday, August the 23d. This day in the morning we had but little wind: at noon it blew fresh again. We made all day but short trips, and rified top sails.

Wednesday, August the 24th. This morning a great dew fell: at noon we were west from Cape Blanco. We found by observation lat. 4 deg. 13 S. We resolved now to bear up to Paita, and take it by surprisal if possible, thereby to provide ourselves with many necessaries we wanted.

## C H A P. XXII.

*They arrive at Paita, where they are disappointed of their expectations, as not daring to land, seeing all the country alarmed before them. They bear away for the streight of Magellan. An account of their sailings towards the streight afore-mentioned.*

Thursday, August the 25th. Wednesday night we stood off to sea for fear of the shore, lest we should be descried from the coast of Paita, which we were now pretty nigh. About noon this day we began to stand in again, and saw the homing of land, though with hazy weather. The next day, being August the 26th, we had cold winds, great dews, and dry weather.

Saturday,

Saturday, August the 27th. All this day, especially in the morning, we had a great fog. In the afternoon we saw la Silla de Paita at W. S. W. being about five leagues from it.

Sunday, August the 28th. Last night about ten, we were close in with land, at about half a league to leeward of the island of Lobos. We continued our course all that night, and about break of day found ourselves close under Pena Horadada, which is a high and steep rock. From this place we sailed with a land-wind, and sent from the ship two canoes well manned and armed, hoping we should take the town of Paita undescried. But it seems they had already got news of our coming, or being upon that coast; and supplies of forces were sent them from Piura, twelve leagues up the country. These supplies consisted chiefly of three companies of horse and foot, all of them armed with fire-arms. Besides this, they had made, for the defence of the town, a breast-work along the sea-side, and the great church which lies at the outermost part of the town. From these places, as also from a hill that covers the town, they fired at our men, who were innocently rolling towards shore with their canoes. This untimely firing was the preservation of our people: for had the Spaniards permitted our men to come ashore, they had assuredly destroyed them every man; but fear always hindereth that nation of victory in most of our attempts.

Our men perceiving themselves discovered, and the enemy prepared for their reception, retreated, and came aboard the ship again without attempting to land, or do any thing else in relation to the taking of the place. We judged there could be no less than 150 fire-arms, and four times as many lances upon the shore, all in a readiness to hinder our people from landing. Within the town, our pilot told us, there might be about 150 families.

Being

Being disappointed of our expectations at Païta, we stood down the bay towards Colan, three times as big as Païta. It is chiefly inhabited by fishermen, who send fish to most inland towns of Peru; and also serve Païta with water from the river Colan, not far from the town. It is about two leagues from the town of Païta before-mentioned to Colan, and from thence to the river one league, although the houses of Colan reach almost to the river. The town of Colan is only inhabited by Indians, who are all rich; because they will be paid in ready money for every thing they do for the Spaniards. But the town of Païta is chiefly inhabited by Spaniards, though there be also some Indians; but the Spaniards do not suffer the Indians to be any great gainers, or grow rich under them.

About ten o'clock a small breeze sprung up, and with that we stood away west, and W. by S. In a little time it blew so fresh, that we were forced to rife our top-sails, the weather being very dark and hazy.

Monday, August the 29th, all our hopes of doing any farther good upon the coasts of the South-seas being now frustrated, seeing we were descried before our arrival wherever we came, we resolved unanimously to quit all other attempts, and bear away for the streights of Magellan, in order to our return homewards, either for England, or some of our plantations in the West-Indies. This day we had a great dew, and I reckoned myself W. S. W. from Païta thirteen leagues and a half, with very little wind; so we stood east.

The next day, August the 30th, we had misty weather; we made a W. S. W. way, and by it five leagues and one third. In the afternoon the wind freshened again, having been but little before, and we stood E. S. E.

The

The last day of August we had very fair weather. I believe now that the wind was settled S. E. and S. S. E. We made a S. S. W. way, and twenty-one leagues and two thirds.

September the 1st. The night past was very cloudy, but withal we had a fresh gale. Our reckoning was a S. W. way, and that we had made sixteen leagues and two thirds.

September the 2d, we reckoned a S. W. way, and by it twenty-six leagues and two thirds. This day we had an observation, and found latitude 7 deg. 40 south.

September the 3d brought us both cloudy and misty weather. We made a W. S. W. way, and fourteen leagues.

September the 4th. This day the wind was at E. S. E. and sometimes E. coming in many flaws. We had a S. W. by S. way, and reckoned twenty-three leagues and two thirds. We had a great sea from the south.

Monday, September the 5th, we had great winds, and a high and short sea. Our way was S. S. W. and half W. by which we reckoned 28 leagues and two thirds of a league.

September the 6th, we had a very fresh wind at S. E. by E. with an indifferent smooth sea. By observation we found this day latitude 12 deg. 0. S. We made a S. W. by S. way, and twenty leagues and one third.

Wednesday, September the 7th, we had a very fresh wind. We reckoned a S. W. by S. way, and thirty-six leagues. We observed latitude 13 deg. 24 S. We made now each mess a plumb-pudding of salt-water and wine-lees.

The 8th, we had a fresh gale of wind, but hazy weather. Our reckoning was a S. W. by S. way, and hereby twenty-five leagues and one third of a league.

Sep-

September the 9th, we made a S. W. by S. way, and twenty-one leagues and a third. In the afternoon the wind came about something more southerly, allowing us a S. W. course.

Saturday, September the 10th. All the night past and this morning the wind was very fresh at east. Our way was S. S. W. and by our reckoning thirty-five leagues and one third: the weather was now warm. An observation this day gave lat. 16 deg. 40 south.

September the 11th, we had whiffing winds: a south-west half south way, and thereby twelve leagues and two thirds. By an observation we made, we found 17 deg. 10 south. Now we had a very great sea; so that we took in our sprit-sail.

September the 12th. All the night before we were under a pair of courses; yet this morning we heaved out our main top-sail. We made a W. S. W. way, and seventeen leagues and one third. By observation we found lat. 17 deg. 30 south.

The 13th. The night past we had great and huge storms of wind. In the morning our gooshead gave way, so that about noon we were forced to lie by till four in the afternoon to mend it. Our course was S. W. half W. and our reckoning twenty-nine leagues and two thirds of a league. Latitude by observation 18 deg. 12 south.

Wednesday, September the 14th. This day we had very hazy weather. We made a S. S. W. way, and twenty leagues.

September the 15th. This day likewise we had a S. S. W. way, and reckoned twenty-three leagues and one half. Our observation taken this day gave us lat. 20 deg. 9 south.

September the 16th, we had a clear day, a S. W. half south way, and made sixteen leagues and two thirds. We found by observation lat. 20 deg. 48 south.

The



The 17th. Last night was very calm; also this day, being a full-moon. We reckoned a S. W. way, and only (by reason of the calmness of the weather) nine leagues and one third of a league. We had an observation, which afforded us 21 deg. 8 S. latitude.

Sunday, September the 18th. Last night a wind sprang up at S. S. E. which this morning freshened at S. E. We made a W. S. W. way, and by it eighteen leagues. This day likewise we had a clear observation, that shewed us lat. 21. deg. 30 S.

September the 19th. All the night past we had a very fresh wind; but this morning it came about to E. by S. and E. S. E. with hazy weather. I reckoned a S. W. by S. way, and twenty-two leagues.

September the 20th. This day gave us a fresh wind, hazy weather, and S. by W. way, and hereupon twenty-three leagues and one third.

September the 21st. This day also the fresh gale continued, with cloudy, and sometimes misty weather. Our reckoning shewed us a S. by W. way, as the day before, and by it twenty-eight leagues and one third. By observation made we found lat. 25 deg. 15 south.

Thursday, September the 22d. This day we had a very fresh wind: we reckoned a south half W. way, and by that twenty-nine leagues and two thirds. An observation taken gave us lat. 26 deg. 42 south. We observed this day a north-east sea, which was very strange to us.

The next day we had several showers of small rain: my reckoning was a S. by W. way, and thereupon twenty-six leagues. We found by observation lat. 27 deg. 57 south.

September the 24th, we had hazy weather, and the wind not so fresh at E. S. E. with a smooth sea: we made a S. S. W. way half westerly, and  
twenty,

twenty-three leagues and two thirds. This day also an observation gave us lat. 28. deg. 57 south. I reckoned now that we were distant from Païta 302 leagues and two thirds.

Sunday, September the 25<sup>th</sup>. This day we had not much wind, and withal hazy weather. At noon the wind came east, then E. N. E. and then again N. E. by E. We reckoned a S. by E. way, half easterly and 55 leagues.

Monday the 26<sup>th</sup>, we had hazy weather, and a fresh wind at N. E. We reckoned a S. E. half south way, and twenty-four leagues. In the afternoon we experimented a N. N. E. sea, and then a N. N. E. wind; after this a north wind, and that but a little.

September the 27<sup>th</sup>. All the night before this day we had a fresh wind at N. N. E. About eight this morning it came about again to N. N. W. We made a S. E. by S. way, and thirty-eight leagues. By observation I found lat. 32 deg. 30 south. Now we enjoyed a very smooth sea, and fair weather.

Wednesday, September the 28<sup>th</sup>. The night past we had a very fresh wind at N. N. W. and N. W. At break of day we had a wind at——heaving us a-back at once. At noon again the wind was at S. W. our course being S. E. This morning we took down our top-gallant masts. We made a S. E. by E. way, and on this road twenty-seven leagues and two thirds. We found, by an observation made, lat. 33 deg. 16 south, a south-west sea.

The 29<sup>th</sup>, we had very windy and hazy weather, with some rain now and then. All last night we handed our main top-sail. We made a S. E. by E. way, and thirty-two leagues and two thirds. We had a south-west sea and wind.

Friday, September the 30<sup>th</sup>. This day we had fresh winds between S. W. and W. We reckoned  
a S. E.

a S. E. half south way, and thereupon forty-four leagues. By observation we found lat. 35 deg. 54 south.

October the 1st. The wind this day was not very fresh, but varying. My reckoning was a S. E. half south way, and twenty-four leagues. An observation gave us lat. 36 deg. 50 south. This day I finished another quadrant, being the third I finished in this voyage. We had a south-west sea, with showers of rain and gusts of wind.

Sunday, October the 2d. The wind this day was hanging between W. N. W. and N. W. by N. We made a S. E. by south way, and thirty-three leagues and two thirds. By observation we found 38 deg. 14 south : about noon we had a fresh wind at N. W. and S. W.

October the 3d. The last night in the fore part thereof was clear, but the latter was rainy : the wind very fresh at N. W. by N. But this day we had little wind and cloudy weather ; a S. W. by W. wind, and a S. E. by S. way, by which we reckoned thirty-three leagues and one third of a league.

October the 4th. We had a clear night, and a very fresh wind : we reckoned by a S. E. by E. way, and thereby forty-three leagues. An observation taken shewed us, that we were in lat. 41 deg. 34 south. This day also fell several showers of rain.

October the 5th. We had a windy night the last past, and clear day. We reckoned a S. S. E. half E. way, and forty-four leagues and two thirds. By an observation made, we found lat. 43 deg. 26 south. The weather now was very windy, causing a huge tempestuous sea. The wind at N. W. and N. W. by N. blowing very high.

October the 6th. This day the wind was still at  
N. W.

N. W. and yet not so fresh as it was yesterday; the weather very foggy and misty: as for the wind, it came in gusts, so that we were forced to hand our top-sails and sprit-sail. We reckoned a S. E. half S. way, and thereby forty-three leagues, and one third of a league. The seas now were not so high, as for some days past: in the evening we scudded away under our fore course.

Friday, October the 7th. Last night was very cloudy, and this day both dark and foggy weather, with small rain. We made a S. E. way, and thirty leagues and two thirds: a fresh wind at N. N. W. and N. W. We kept still under a fore course, not so much for the freshness of the wind, as the closeness of the weather.

October the 8th. We had a clear night the night past, and withal a strong gale; infomuch, that this day we were forced to take in our fore-sail, and loosen our mizen, which was soon blown to pieces. Our eldest seamen said, that they were never in the like storm of wind before; the sea was all in a foam: in the evening it dulled a little. We made a S. E. half E. way, and eighteen leagues, with very dark weather.

Sunday, October the 9th. All the night past we had a furious W. N. W. wind. We set our sail a-drough, and so drove to the southward very much, and almost incredibly, if an observation had not happened, which gave us lat. 48. 15 S. We had a very stiff gale at W. N. W. with a great sea from W. which met with a S. S. W. sea as great as it. Now the weather was very cold, and we had one or two frosty mornings. Yesterday in the afternoon we had a very great storm of hail: at noon we bent another mizen.

Monday, October the 10th. This day brought us a fresh wind at N. N. W. We made a S. E. half E. way,

way, and by it forty-four leagues. By observation we found lat. 49 deg. 41 S. I reckoned myself now to be east of Païta sixty-nine leagues and a half.

Tuesday, October the 11th. Last night we had a small time calm. This day was both cloudy and rainy weather. The wind at S. W. and S. S. W. so furious, that at ten this morning we scudded under a main-sail: at noon we lowered our fore-yard while we failed. We made a S. E. by E. way, and thirty leagues.

### C H A P. XXIII.

*The Bucaniers arrive at a place unknown to them, which they new-name the duke of York's islands. A description of the said islands, and of the gulf, or Lagoon, wherein they lie, so far as it was searched. They remain there many days by distress of weather, not without great danger of being lost. An account of some other things remarkable that happened there.*

**W**ednesday, October the 12th. All last night we had many high winds. I reckoned an E. S. E. way, and twenty leagues; for our vessel drove at a great rate. Moreover, that we were in lat. 50 deg. 50 S. So that our easting from Païta by my account ought to be 101 leagues or thereabouts.

This morning about two hours before day, we happened by great accident to espy land: it was the great mercy of God, which had always attended us in this voyage, that saved us from perishing at this time; for we were close ashore before we saw it, and our fore-yard, which we most needed on this occasion, was taken down. The land we had seen was very high and towering, and there appeared to be

be many islands scattered up and down. We steered in with what caution we could, between them and the main, and at last arrived at a place, or rather bay, where we perceived ourselves to be land-locked, and, as we thought, pretty safe from the danger of those tempestuous seas. From hence we sent away our canoe to sound and search the fittest place for anchoring. At this time one of our men, named Henry Shergall, as he was going into our sprit-sail top, happened to fall into the water, and was drowned before he could have any help, though we endeavoured it as much as we could. This accident several of our company did interpret as a bad omen of the place; which proved not so, through the providence of the Almighty; though we were not clear of dangers neither, as I shall relate.

We came to an anchor in about forty fathom water, at a stone's cast only from shore. The water where we anchored was very smooth, and the high lands round about all covered with snow. Having considered the time of the year, and all other circumstances, we resolved, that in case we could find a sufficient stock of provisions here, we would stay the longer, that is, till the beginning of summer, or something longer, before we prosecuted our intended voyage homewards through the straits of Magellan; which now we began to be careful how to find. That day we anchored in this bay, we shot six or eight brave geese, besides some small fowl. Here we found many hundreds of muscle banks, all which were very plentifully stocked with that kind of fish. We buried our dead man on the shore, giving him several volleys for his funeral rites, according to custom. At night our anchor came home, so that we were forced to let go a grappling to secure ourselves. But still every flaw of wind drove us. Hereupon we set our sprit-sail, and ran

above a mile into another bay, where we anchored again: the first anchor, which was the biggest in our ship, we lost by this accident, the cable being cut by the rocks. These islands afore-mentioned our captain new named, his royal highness the duke of York's islands.

Thursday, October the 13th. This day we began to moor our ship, she driving, as we easily could perceive, with every flaw of wind that blew. The tide flows here full seven feet up and down: we moored our vessel in a rocky point, being a key, whereof there be many in the circumference of this bay. The ground of the bottom of the bay we found was hard and sandy, being here and there rocky. This evening we brought on board great store of lamperts, of which we made a kettle of broth, more than all our company could eat.

Friday, October the 14th, we killed several geese, as also many fowls like an eagle, but having a bigger beak, with their nostrils rising from the top of the middle of their beak by a hand-trunk: this fowl liveth on fish. Yesterday, in the evening, fell a great fleet of snow on the hills round about the bay, but none where we were at anchor. This day in the evening we caught lamperts in great quantities, three times as many as we could eat. Our men, in ranging the key for game, found grass plaited above a fathom long, and a knot tied to the end thereof: on the other keys they found muscles and lampert-shells. Hence we concluded these countries were inhabited, and that some Indians or others were to be found hereupon.

Saturday, October the 15th. The night past we had much rain, with large hail stones. About midnight the wind came to north with such great fury, that the tree, to which our cable was fastened on shore, gave way and came up by the roots.

All

All those gusts of wind were mixed with violent storms of rain and hail: we fastened again to other trees; but here it happened, that our ship coming up to the shore, our rudder touched, and broke our goose-neck: great was now our danger, and greater it would have been, if it had not pleased God to send us better weather. Scarce a minute now passed without flaws of wind and rain.

Sunday, October the 16th. All night past was rainy, as before. About nine o'clock our biggest haulser gave way and brake. All this day likewise we had rain, with several showers of hail, and but little wind at north-west.

Monday, October the 17th. Last night, till five this morning, it ceased not to rain: then till ten it snowed: on the hills it snowed all the night long. This day we hunted on the shore many tracks of people, but could find none, they having fled and concealed themselves for fear of us, as we supposed.

October the 18th. The night past we had much rain and hail; but the day was very clear and pretty warm. Hereupon we made an observation, which gave us lat. 50 deg. 40 S.

October the 19th. The night past was clear and frosty: this day was hazy, and something windy from the north quarter. Every day we had plenty of lamperts, and muscles of a very large size.

October the 20th. The night past was rainy; and this day great gusts of wind at N. N. W. till the afternoon: then we had wind at N. W. being very fresh, and in gusts.

October the 21st. All the night past was tempestuous, with great gusts of wind and showers of hail. Yesterday in the evening we carried a cable ashore, and fastened it to a tree: this being done, at midnight our biggest cable broke in the middle.



Towards morning we had much snow ; in the day, great gusts of wind with large hail-stones. We caught great plenty of lamperts.

October the 22d. Last night we had strange gusts of wind from N. W., together with much hail and rain. This day we killed a penguin, and began to carry water on board.

October the 23d. For twenty-four hours past we had much rain : the wind was but little at W. and W. S. W.

October the 24th. All this time till noon nothing but rain. At that time it held up for half an hour, or thereabouts, and then it rained again all the rest of the day.

October the 25th. All this while we had not one minute fair : towards evening it held up, but the weather was cloudy, and withal much warmer, than when we came hither at first.

Wednesday, October the 26th. All night past, and this forenoon, we had fair weather ; but after noon it rained again. We found cockles like those we have in England.

Thursday, October the 27th. Last night we had much rain, with very great gusts of wind all night : notwithstanding, this day proved to be the fairest that we had had since we came into this place. In the evening, our canoe, which was gone to search the adjacent places for Indians, or what else they could find, returned to the ship, with a doree at her stern. They had gone, as it should seem, beyond the old bay where we first anchored, and thereabouts happened to meet with this doree : in it were three Indians, who perceiving themselves nigh being taken, leaped over-board to make their escape. Our men in pursuing them did unadvisedly shoot one of them dead : a second, being a woman, escaped their hands ; but the third, who was a lusty boy about eighteen years

years of age, was taken, whom they brought on board the ship. He was covered only with a seal's skin, having no other cloathing about him : his eyes were squinted ; and his hair pretty short. In the middle of the doree they had a fire burning, either for dressing of victuals, or some other use. The doree itself was built sharp at both ends, and flat-bottomed. They had a net to catch penguins, and a club like our bandies, called by them a *tomaunks* : his language we could not understand, but withal he pointed up the lagoon, giving us to understand, - that there were more people thereabouts : this was confirmed by our men, who also said they had seen more. They had darts to throw against an enemy pointed with wood.

The next day, being October the 28th, in the evening, our canoe went from the ship again to seek for more Indians : they went into several lagoons, and searched them narrowly ; but they could find nothing but two or three huts ; all the natives being fled before our arrival. In the evening they returned to the ship, bringing with them very large lamperts, and muscles which were six inches and an half long : our Indian prisoner could open these muscles with his fingers, which our men could not so readily do with their knives. Both the night past and this day we had very fair weather.

The 29th, we had in like manner a very fair day, and also a smooth wind at S. S. E. Our Indian this day pointed to us, that there were men in this country, or not far from hence, with great beards : he appeared to us by his actions to be very innocent and foolish ; but by his carriage I was also persuaded that he was a man-eater. This day likewise we caught lamperts enough to suffice us for the morrow.

Sunday, October the 30th. This day was fair, and there

there blew a small S. S. E. wind. In the morning we sent a canoe over to the eastward shore, to seek either for provisions or Indians. I myself could not go, as I desired, being, with two or three more, at that time very much tormented with the gripes. I am persuaded, this place is not so large an island as described by some hydrographers, but rather a collection of smaller islands. We saw this day many penguins, but they were so shy, that we could not come near them: they pad on the water with their wings very fast, but their bodies are so heavy that they cannot fly. The sun had now made the weather very warm, inasmuch that the snow melted apace.

October the 31st. Both last night and this day were very fair: at noon our canoe returned from the eastern shore, bringing word they had found several good bays and harbours, that were deep even close to the shore. Only there were several rocks sunk in them, which we had also where we were: but these rocks are not dangerous to shipping, by reason they have weeds which lie two fathoms in circumference about them. This morning blew a small wind at N. N. E.

November the 1st. This day was also fair, and we had a small wind; as before, at N. N. E.

November the 2d. Last night I took the polar distance of the south star of the cock's foot; and found it to be 28 deg. 25. I observed also the two Magellan clouds, of which I made mention in this journal before, and found them to be as followeth, viz. the lesser 14 deg. 5. and the greater 14 deg. 25. In the morning we hoisted on end our top mast, and brought to a main top-sail, and fore-sail, and finished our filling all the water we needed. At the same time the wind hung easterly, and I was still troubled with the gripes as before.

November the 3d. This morning we hanged our  
rud-

rudder, the greatest piece of work we had to do, after those violent storms above-mentioned. In the afternoon we haled in our two biggest haulsers; and also our biggest cable from the shore. For three days last past we had a very great and dark fog between us and the eastward shore. We had now very little wind in the cove where we were, but abroad at sea there blew at the same time a stiff gale at S. S. E. We could perceive now, the stormy weather being blown over, much small fry of fish about the ship, whereof we could see none before. This evening was very clear and calm.

November the 4th. Both last night and this day we had very calm weather; only a small breeze in the morning sprang up at N. and N. N. E. which afterwards wheeled about to S. and S. S. E. This morning we hoisted our main and fore yards; and likewise fetched off from the shore our other haulser and cable, into the depth of eleven fathom water. Our resolutions were now changed for a departure, in order to seek the mouth of the straits of Magellan, seeing we could not winter here for want of provisions, which we could not find either on the continent, or about these islands afore-mentioned. The weather now was very warm, or rather hot, and the birds sung as sweetly as those in England. We saw here both thrushes and blackbirds, and many other sorts of those that are usually seen in our own country.

Saturday, November the 5th. This morning brought us a wind at N. N. E. Hereupon we warped to a rocky point, thereby to get out of the cove where we lay: for our anchor came home to us as we were carrying our warp out. At this time a second breeze came up very fresh in our stern; so that we took the opportunity thereof, and went away before it. By noon we hoisted in our canoes, and turned loose our Indian dogree: as for the Indian boy whom we had

taken in the said doree, we kept him prisoner, and called him Orson. When we were come out into the channel, the weather grew quite calm; only now and then we had a small breeze, sometimes from one quarter, and then from another. By this slackness of wind we observed, that the current hoisted us to the southward. On the east side of this lagoon we perceived the Indians to make a great smoke at our departure.

We had a very fair day till six in the evening: when we got without the mouth of the gulf, it blew so hard, that in an hour it forced us to hand our top-sails: having now a fit gale at N. W. and N. N. W. we stood S. W. by W. to clear ourselves of some breaks which lie four leagues from the gulf's mouth at S. and S. S. E. Hereabouts we saw many riffs and rocks, which occasioned us to stand close haled.

#### C H A P. XXIV.

*They depart from the English gulf in quest of the  
straights of Magellan, which they cannot find.  
They return home by an unknown way.*

**SUNDAY**, November the 6th. This morning we lost sight of land, so that we could see it no more. All the night past, and this day, we were under our two courses and sprit-sail: the weather this day was hazy: my reckoning was a S. W. half S. way, and by it twenty-one leagues. We had now an indifferent high sea, and a fresh wind at N. N. W.

November the 7th. Last night was both rainy and foggy, but in the morning it cleared up. The wind for the most part was at W. and W. N. W. But at noon it came about at W. S. W. Our reckoning was  
a S. W.

a S. W. by S. way, and by it twenty leagues. We found by observation lat. 52 deg. 3. We now steered away S. S. E. the wind being at that time at W. S. W. In the evening I found a variation of the needle to N. E. to the number of 15 deg. or better. I was still troubled with the gripes, as I had been before.

November the 8th. We had a fair night the last past. About midnight the wind came to N. N. W. This day early, at break of day, we all were persuaded that we had seen land; but at noon we found our mistake, it being only a cloud. The wind was now at north. My reckoning was at S. E. half E. way, and thirty-two leagues and one third of a league. We had an observation that gave us 53 deg. 27 S. The whole day was very fine and warm, and we saw great numbers of fowls and seals.

November the 9th. Yesterday in the evening the weather was cloudy: hereupon we lay by under a main course. After midnight we sailed east, and E. by N. with a fresh wind at W. N. W. and not any great sea. The day itself was cloudy, and towards noon we had some rain; so at two in the afternoon we lay by under a main course, the wind being fresh at N. W. I reckoned an E. N. E. way, and thereby twenty-eight leagues.

Thursday, November the 10th. All night past we lay under a main course, with a mere fret of wind at N. W. and N. N. W. day being come, the wind rather increased; insomuch, that about noon our sail blew to pieces: hereupon, we were forced to lower the yard and unbend the sail, lying for a little while under a mizen; but that also soon gave way: so that all the rest of this day we lay a hulk in very dark weather, foggy and windy, with a great sea, which sometimes rolled over us. In the afternoon

it seemed to abate for some space of time; but soon after it blew worse than before, which compelled us to lower our fore yard.

November the 11th. All the night past we had furious, windy and tempestuous weather, from the points of N. W. and N. N. W. together with seas higher and higher. In the evening we set our mizen; at which time the sun appeared very waterish; but the wind now abated by degrees, and the seas also.

November the 12th. This morning little wind was stirring, only some rain fell. About ten it cleared up, and by an observation then made, we found lat. 55 deg. 25. The sea was now much fallen, and a fresh wind was sprung up at W. and W. S. W. We experimented also a very great current to the S. W. In the afternoon we set our sails again, and resolved unanimously to make for the streights of St. Vincent, otherwise called the streights of Fernando de Magellan. We had a fresh wind at W. N. W. our course being S. S. E. under our sprit-sail, fore-sail, and fore-top-sail. This day we saw many fishes, or rather fowls, who had heads like Muscovy ducks, as also two feet like them. They had two fins, like the fore-fins of turtles; white breasts and bellies; their beaks and eyes being red. They are full of feathers on their bodies, and the hinder parts are like those of a seal, wherewith they cut the water. The Spaniards call these fowls Paxaros Ninos. They weigh most commonly about six or seven pounds, being about a foot long: our commander, captain Sharp, was so dextrous as to strike two of them. In the evening we set our main-sail; the wind now coming to west and by south.

Sunday, November the 13th. All the night past, we had a fresh wind between S. W. and W. N. W. with

with sometimes mists of small rain. In the evening we had a fine leading gale at W. N. W. together with clear and wholesome weather. We made a S. E. way, and by it forty two leagues and two thirds. This day an observation gave us lat. 56 deg. 55 S. We still found a great S. W. current. In the afternoon we steered E. S. E. and in the evening had whiffling winds.

November the 14th. Both last night and this morning we had cloudy weather: about eight' it cleared up. My reckoning was a S. E. by E. way, and by it thirty-two leagues. Our observation gave us lat. 57 deg. 50 south. This day we could perceive land, and at noon were due west of it. In the evening we stood E. by S.

November the 15th. All the night past was very cloudy: we judged now that we should be close in with the land we had seen the day before; but the morning being come, we could see none: in the night much snow fell, and in the day we had great fleets thereof, the weather being very cold and cloudy. I reckoned an E. S. E. way, and hereby twenty-nine leagues and two thirds; moreover, that our lat. was 58 deg. 25 S. The wind was now so fresh at N. that we were forced to lie under our two courses and sprit-sail.

November the 16th. Most of this time we had still rain and snow, but now no night at all, though the weather was dark. The wind was various, but from midnight before it was at S. E. and S. S. E. We now lay E. N. E. I reckoned a N. E. by E. way, and twenty three leagues. About four in the afternoon two of our fore-shroud bolts broke, but withal were presently mended. This afternoon also we saw a very large whale. In the evening we handed in our fore-top sail, and lay under our pair of courses, and sprit-sail, the evening being very clear.



November the 17th. In the night there was a very hard frost. At four this morning we saw two or three islands of ice, the distance of two or three leagues southward of us: soon after this we saw several others, the biggest of them being at least two leagues round. By an observation made this day, we found 58 deg. 23 south. We had now a vehement current to the southward: at noon I saw many others of these islands of ice afore-mentioned, of which some were so long, that we could scarce see the end of them, and were extended about ten or twelve fathom above water. The weather in the mean while was very clear, and the wind cold. I found variation of the needle eighteen deg. to the north-east.

November the 18th. All the night past was very fair: (I must call it night, for otherwise it was not dark at all). The sea was very smooth, and the wind at N. and N. N. W. I reckoned a N. E. by N. way, and by the same twenty-two leagues. At ten it fell quite calm, which held all the afternoon: but at night we had a wind again at N. and N. by E.

November the 19th. This day was cloudy with snow, and a frosty night preceding it. The wind now was so fresh at north, that we were forced to take in our top-sails, and lie all day under our courses and sprit-sail. We made by an E. S. E. way eighteen leagues and two thirds.

November the 20th. We had a cloudy night the last past, together with misting rain and snow. This morning fell so great a fog, that we could scarce see from stem to stern of our ship. From ten o'clock last night we had also a calm, and very cold weather; but what was worse than all this, we were kept to a very short allowance of our sorry victuals; our provisions growing very scanty with us. About ten this morning we had a very small breeze at north: several

veral of our men were not able to endure the cold; it was so piercing; whereby they were forced to lie and keep themselves as close as they could. We made an east way, and by the same sixteen leagues. This day at noon, I reckoned myself to be east from the gulf, from whence we last parted, two hundred and five leagues, and two thirds of a league.

Monday, November the 21st. Last night we caught a small land-fowl, and saw two or three more. This sight gave us good hopes we were not far from some coast or other; yet we could see none all this long and tedious voyage. In the night past we had a calm, and all this morning a great fog, with much snow and rain. We reckoned an E. by N. way, and ten leagues. At one in the afternoon we had a fresh gale that sprang up at east, and at E. by N.

November the 22d. Most part of this day was calm; mean while we observed our ship drive east. My reckoning was at E. N. E. way, and thereby thirteen leagues and one third. At one in the afternoon we had a small gale at W. S. W. our course being N. N. E. and N. E. by N.

November the 23d. This day we had a gale at N. W. freshening by degrees; so that we were forced to take in our top-sails and sprit-sail. The wind was not a settled gale, but often varied from point to point: at noon it came at N. E. and our course was then N. N. W. By a north way we reckoned sixteen leagues.

November the 24th. Both the night past and this morning was foggy weather, with some calms between whiles: but at eight in the morning the sun brake out; yet it was not a clear day. By a N. N. E. way we reckoned fifteen leagues. This morning the wind came about to east, and at noon it was  
again

again at N. E. We had a clear evening, and a fresh gale.

November the 25th. All the night past we had a fresh wind at E. and E. N. E. insomuch, that at eight in the morning we took in our top-sails: but at noon the wind was not so fresh as before. I reckoned a N. N. W. half west way, and by the same twenty leagues.

November the 26th. Last night the wind was not altogether so fresh as before; but this morning it was again very high. The weather was dark and cloudy, with sometimes rain and snow. We made a N. N. E. way, and hereby thirty leagues; the wind all along E. by S. and E. S. E. In the evening we had fair weather again. We found for the ten days last past a great western sea, and saw in the same time several seals.

Sunday, November the 27th. All the night past we enjoyed a fresh gale, and clear weather. I reckoned thirty-six leagues by a N. E. by N. way. By an observation made, we now found lat. 52 deg. 48 south: and I judged myself to be east from the gulf two hundred eighty-five leagues. In the evening we had a very exact sight of the sun, and found above thirty deg. variation of the needle: from whence ought to be concluded, that it is very difficult to direct a course of navigation in these parts; for in the space of only twenty-five leagues sailing, we have found eight or nine deg. difference of variation, by a good Dutch azimuth compass.

November the 28th. All last night we had a fresh wind at E. S. E. Towards morning we had but little wind, all the day being hazy weather. This day we saw a whole flight of such land-fowls as we killed one of before: this sight gave us further hopes we were not far from land, yet we found none in all this voyage. We made by a N. N. E. way, thirty-

thirty-three leagues. Yesterday in the evening we set a new sprit-sail, and about three this morning we also set our main-sail. At one in the afternoon the wind came about at N. E. and N. N. E. which in the evening blew very fresh, with cloudy weather.

November the 29th. The night proved very cloudy, and the wind blew very fresh at E. N. E. and N. by E. This morning it was east, both with snow and hail: towards noon the weather cleared up, and we found by an observation taken, lat. 49 deg. 45 S. Our reckoning was a north way, and thirty leagues. This day we had a short eastern sea, and withal a very cold evening. I took the sun, and hereby I found variation 26 deg. 30 to the north-east. This night the wind came about W. and W. N. W. continuing so all the night.

November the 30th. This day the wind was N. and N. N. E. with some clouds hovering in the sky. At this time we had already almost four hours of night: the morning of this day was very fair and clear; hereupon, to give myself satisfaction in the point, as fearing the truth of Spanish books, I worked the true amplitude of the sun, and found his variation to be 26° 25 to the N. E. being very conformable to what I had read and experienced before. Hereabouts also we found a current to the northward: this day also we saw much rock-weed, which renewed our hopes once more of seeing land. We reckoned a N. E. way, and by the same twenty-two leagues. By an observation made we found lat. 48 deg. 53 S. This day also we saw several of those fowl-fish afore described, called paxaros-ninos; and these of a larger size than any we had seen before: in the afternoon the wind came about at N. N. E. whereby we stood N. W. by W. with a fresh gale, and smooth water. The weather now began to

to grow warmer than hitherto, and the evening was clear.

Tuesday, December the 1st. The latter part of the night past was very cloudy, and sometimes rainy: about midnight we had a violent tornado, forcing us in a moment to hand in our top-sails. At five in the morning we set them again, and at eleven: we had another tornado, forcing us to hand our top-sails a second time. We made a N. N. E. two thirds east way, and thereby thirteen leagues and two thirds of a league. The afternoon of this stormy day proved very fair, and the wind came to W. S. W. our course being N. E. by N. In the evening the wind freshened, with cloudy weather.

December the 2d. Last night we had a very furious whirlwind, which notwithstanding, it pleased God, passed about the length of our ship to westward of us: however, we handed in our top-sails, and hauled up our low-sail, in the brails. After the whirlwind came a fresh storm of large hail-stones, in the night, and several tornadoes; but, God be thanked, they all came large of our ship. We now made a great way under a fore-course and sprit-sail. At four this morning our fore-sail split, whereby we were forced to lower our fore-yard. At half an hour after ten we hoisted in again, with a furious S. W. wind. We made a N. E. by E. way, and by the same forty-seven leagues and an half. By observation we now had latitude 46 deg. 54 S. We rified our top-sail; with respect to the violence of the wind; but in the evening this rather increased, and we had a very great sea. Our standing rigging, through the fury of this gale, gave way in several places, but was soon mended again.

December the 3d. The wind all the night past was very fresh, with several flaws, both of wind and rain, at S. W. and S. W. by S. We enjoyed now very

very warm weather. This morning we set our fore-top-sail. Our reckoning gave us a N. E. half E. way, and forty-five leagues. We found latitude by observation 45 deg. 28 S. This day at noon a large shoal of young porpoises came about our ship, and played up and down.

December the 4th. All the night past we had a fresh gale at W. S. W. The night was clear, only that now and then we had a small cloud affording some rain. In the morning, from four till eight, it rained; but then it cleared up again, with a S. W. wind, and a very smooth sea. We made a N. E. one quarter N. way, thirty-nine leagues. By observation we found lat. 44 deg. 1 S. At noon the wind came to S. S. W. our course then being N. N. E. This day we agreed among ourselves, having the consent of our commander, to share the eight chests of money, which as yet remained unshared. Yesterday in the evening we let out the ruff of our fore-sail, and hoisted up our fore-yard. This evening I found variation 17 deg. N. E.

Monday, December the 5th. All night past a clear night, and this a fair day, with a fresh wind at S. S. W. We reckoned a N. E. 5 deg. N. way, and by the same forty-two leagues. An observation gave us lat. 42 deg. 29 S. This afternoon we shared of the chests above-mentioned, three hundred pieces of eight to each man. I now reckoned myself to be east from my departure four hundred and seventy-one leagues, and one third of a league. At night again we shared twenty-two pieces of eight more to each.

December the 6th. We had a clear star-light night the last, and a fair morning this day, with a fresh gale at S. W. At noon we took in our fore-top-sail. We reckoned a N. E. half N. way, and hereby fifty leagues and two thirds. An observa-  
tion

tion taken afforded us 43 deg. 31 S. This evening was cloudy.

December the 7th. The night was both windy and cloudy: at one in the morning we took in our top-sails, and at three, handed our sprit-sail, and so we scudded away before the wind, which now was very fresh at west. This morning a gust of wind came and tore our main sail into an hundred pieces, which made us put away before the wind, till we could provide for that accident. My reckoning was a N. E. three quarters E. way, and by the same thirty-three leagues. By observation we found lat. 39 deg. 37 S. We had now a great sea, and a fresh wind. At three in the afternoon we set another fore-sail, the first being blown to pieces: at the same time we furled our sprit-sail. At five the wind came at W. S. W. with very bad weather. This day our worthy commander, captain Sharp, had very certain intelligence given him, that on Christmas day, which was now at hand, the company, or at least a great part thereof, had a design to shoot him; he having appointed that day some time since, to be merry. Hereupon he made us share the wine amongst us, as being persuaded they would scarce attempt any such thing in their sobriety. The wine we shared fell out to three jars to each mess. That night the wind increased.

December the 8th. The night past was both cloudy and windy; the wind very often varying between the N. W. and S. W. points. This morning it varied between W. and N. W. by W. About noon this day we brought a new main-sail to the yard, but did not set it then, by reason there blowed too much wind. I reckoned a N. E. half N. way, and by the same thirty leagues. By observation made we found lat. 38 deg. 29 S. In the afternoon we had one or two squalls of wind and rain; but the violence

violence of both fell at stern of us. In the evening it blew again very hard. I observed this day the rising and setting of the sun, and found the exact variation to be 12 deg. 15 N. E.

December the 9th. The night was star-light, but withal very windy. About break of day, the wind came to N. W. and at seven we set our fore-top-sail, and stood N. N. E. with not much wind. We made since our last reckoning a N. E. quarter E. way, and twenty-nine leagues. We found by observation lat. 37 deg. 30 S. The sea was much fallen, but our ship began to complain of several leaks, through our tedious and long voyage. This afternoon we hoisted up our main-yard, and set up back-stays and main-swifter, whose ring-bolt gave way, but was mended. In the evening of this day we had but little wind.

December the 10th. The night was very clear, but till ten o'clock this forenoon we had no wind; then a small breeze sprang up at N. by E. We made an E. N. E. one third N. way, and hereby twenty-one leagues. An observation gave us lat. 37 deg. 1 S. In the afternoon our chief surgeon cut off the foot of a Negro boy, which was perished with cold. Now it was like to be bad weather again; hereupon we furled our top sails, and lay under a pair of courses; but in the evening we lay under a fore-sail and mizen, with misty weather.

Sunday, December the 11th. All the night past we had a fresh wind at N. and sometimes at N. N. W. The weather was very cloudy with drizzling rain. We made an E. way, and thereby twenty-five leagues. This day brought a great sea. About ten in the morning, one of our main shrouds gave way: in the evening fell some small rain.

December the 12th. All the night past we had misty rain, and but little wind; yea, in the morning



ing a perfect calm. At noon came up a small gale at E. S. E. and S. E. bringing with it cloudy weather. We reckoned a N. E. by E. way, and by the same eighteen leagues. Yesterday died the Negro boy, whose foot was cut off by our surgeon, as was mentioned the day before. This afternoon also died another negro, something bigger than the former, named Chepillo. The boy's name was Beafero. All this evening but small wind.

December the 13th. All night the wind was at E. S. E. our course being N. N. E. At three in the morning it came about at S. S. W. and at nine at E. by N. I reckoned a N. E. by N. way, and fifteen leagues: the weather was hazy. In the afternoon the wind was at N. E. our course being N. N. W. We had now a very smooth sea, and saw multitudes of grampusses, whales, and porpusses every day as we sailed along.

December the 14th. The evening past was cloudy, as also the night foggy: hereupon we took in our top sails. At half an hour after three this morning we stood N. E. the wind being then at N. N. W. At five we put out our top-sails again: at seven we saw a turtle floating upon the sea. We reckoned a N. N. E. way. This day's observation afforded us 34 deg. 32 S. At this time we had very hot weather, and great dews in the night. My whole easting I reckoned to be now 677 leagues and one third of a league.

December the 15th. We had a fine night the last past, and a great dew. The wind in the interim was between N. and N. W. I reckoned a N. E. half E. way, and by the same thirty-one leagues. We had an observation that gave us lat. 33. deg. 46 S. At noon the wind came about at N. N. W. our course being N. E. We had this day a very clear evening, and at the same time a fresh wind.

December

December the 16th, we had a fair night and wind at N. N. W. and N. W. by N. This morning I took the sun at its rising, and found N. E. variation 20 deg. 30. My reckoning was a N. N. E. way, and thirty-six leagues, and one third of another. By observation I found lat. 32 deg. 9 S. At noon this day the wind came about to N. W.

December 17th. Most part of the last night the wind was at N. W. as before; but towards morning a fine and easy gale sprang up at W. N. W. This morning we saw several dolphins playing upon the sea, which made us hope they would at last befriend us, and suddenly shew us some land or other. We reckoned a N. E. by N. one third N. way, and by the same twenty-five leagues. An observation gave us now lat. 31 deg. 4. A fair evening.

December the 18th, we had a clear night past, together with a smooth gale at N. W. which this morning was at W. by S. We had now a smooth sea for several days past. Our reckoning was twenty-five leagues by a N. E. by N. way. By observation we perceived lat. 29 deg. 48 S.

December the 19th. A clear night the last past, and a fresh breeze at S. S. W. and S. W. by S. lasting until nine in the morning: then sprung up a wind at S. E. by E. I reckoned this day a N. N. E. half E. way, and upon the same thirty leagues. By observation made we took lat. 28 deg. 29 S. The day was very fair, and a smooth sea, with weather that was very hot. My whole casting I reckoned now to be 760 leagues. This evening I found variation 2 deg. 50 N. E.

## C H A P. XXV.

*The Bucaniers continue their navigation, without seeing any land, till they arrive at the Caribbee islands, in the West Indies. They give away their ship to some of their companions that were poor, and disperse for several countries. The author of this Journal arriveth in England.*

December the 20th, 1681. The night before was something cloudy, but the weather was fair and the wind but little. At noon the wind came about N. by E. our course being W. N. W. We made a N. N. W. way, and thereby, as I reckoned, twenty-two leagues. By observation made we took lat. 27 deg. 25 S. The evening was cloudy, and now and then there fell a shower of rain.

December the 21st. At eight o'clock last night the wind came N. W. by N. but withal, with dark weather, that we were forced to take in our top-sails: the night was something rainy, and the weather this morning calm and rainy. About ten we had a small breeze at N. W. we reckoned a N. by E. way, and by the same sixteen leagues. The afternoon was calm and still.

December the 22d. We had a fair clear night the last past, which produced this day a smooth sea, and extreme hot weather, and very little wind near the sun; so that no observation was made.

December the 23d. The night was very fair: at midnight, or thereabouts, a fresh gale sprang up at S. E. and E. S. E. which sometimes was E. This freshened by degrees. We had in the day very hot and clear weather. By a N. way I reckoned fifteen leagues.

December

December the 24th. Last night we had both a fresh gale, and a clear night. The wind was at E. by S. We reckoned a N. E. by E. way, and by it thirty-one leagues.

Sunday, December the 25th. This day, being Christmas day, for celebration of that great festival we killed yesterday in the evening a sow: this sow we had brought from the gulf of Nicoya, being then a suckling pig, of about three weeks old, but now weighed about fourscore and ten pounds. With this hog's flesh we made our Christmas dinner, being the only flesh we had eaten ever since we turned away our prizes under the equinoctial, and left the island of Plata. We had this day several flaws of wind, and some rain; but the weather otherwise was pretty clear. I reckoned a N. by E. way, and thirty-three leagues by the same: it was now also extreme hot weather, as was signified before.

December the 26th. We had this day several gusts of wind, which forced us to stand by our top-sails; yet they were but very short, and all the rest of the while we enjoyed an indifferent fresh gale at E. and E. by S. We reckoned a N. by E. way, and twenty-eight leagues.

December the 27th. We had fair weather and a fresh wind at E. and E. by S. I reckoned a N. by E. way, and upon the same thirty-two leagues. The evening of this day was cloudy.

December the 28th. Last night was cloudy, with a fresh wind. We reckoned a N. E. way, and by the same forty-six leagues. We found by an observation made lat.  $15^{\circ}$  deg. 30 S. My whole easting I reckoned this day to be 825 leagues. Now we saw much flying-fish, with some dolphins, bonitoes; and albigores; but they will not take the hook.

December

December the 29th. All last night was cloudy, with a fresh wind between E. and E. S. E. The weather all the afternoon was hazy. I reckoned a N. by E. way, and hereupon forty leagues and one third. In the afternoon we had a S. E. by E. wind, which blew very fresh. The evening was clear: at sunset I found variation to N. W. 4 deg. 19.

December the 30th. The night past was cloudy. Towards morning the wind came about at E. At six it came E. S. E. and at ten to S. E. by S. We made a N. by E. way, and forty-three leagues. By an observation we found lat. 11 deg. 3 S. The evening of this day was clear.

December the 31st. We had a cloudy night the last past, but the morning was hazy. We came now to a strict allowance of only three good pints of water each day. We made a N. by E. way, and found lat. by observation 8 deg. 55 S. In the afternoon we had an E. S. E. and S. E. by E. wind. My whole casting I reckoned now to be 884 leagues and one third. At noon we stood away N. W.

Sunday, January the 1st, 1681. All the night past was cloudy, as this day also with some showers of rain. We made a N. W. one eighth N. way, and forty leagues. In the afternoon came about a fresh wind at S. E. and E. S. E. .

January the 2d. The weather this day was both dull and cloudy. We reckoned a N. W. one quarter N. way, and by the same thirty-two leagues. By observation we found that our lat. now was 6 deg. 6 S. The wind came pretty fresh at S. E.

January the 3d., we had several squalls of wind, and some rain; but withal a fresh wind at S. E. and E. S. E. Our reckoning was a N. W. one quarter N. way, and thirty-four leagues. The afternoon was clear, but the evening cloudy.

January

January the 4th. All the night past was very cloudy; but this forenoon it cleared up. Yesterday we put a board our main top-sail studden-sails; but we took them in at night. At four this morning we set our larboard studden-sail, and before noon fitted up top-gallant masts, and yard. We made a N. W. way, and by it forty leagues and two thirds. By observation we had now lat. 3 deg. 9 S. This afternoon also we set up our top-gallant sail, being forced to make out all its running rigging. The wind was pretty fresh at S. E. and S. E. by E.

January the 5th. Most part of the night past was clear and star-light, though with some rain towards morning: this being come, we put out our top-gallant sail, and both our top-sail studden-sails. At noon likewise we put up our fore top-gallant masts, and yard. We caught an albicore this day, weighing about one hundred and twenty pounds weight. The wind was at S. E. by S. and S. S. E. We made a N. W. way, and reckoned thereby thirty-five leagues. By observation we found lat. 2 deg. 3 S. We had now mighty hot weather.

January the 6th. Yesterday in the evening we caught another albicore, which weighed only eight or nine pounds. We made a N. W. way, and reckoned thirty-five leagues, as before. Now by an observation made, we could perceive only lat. 0 deg. 49 S. The evening of this day was very clear.

January the 7th. The wind was variable between S. S. E. and S. S. W. though not altogether so fresh as before. Our reckoning was a N. W. one quarter N. way, and thirty-six leagues by the same. This day an observation gave us 0 deg. 32 N. of the *Æquinoctial*, which now we had passed again. In the afternoon we caught another albicore, which weighed more than the first; that is, between one

hundred and thirty-five and one hundred and forty pounds. But little wind stirring this afternoon.

January the 8th. The evening past we had almost a calm : at nine this morning we had a fresh wind at S. S. E. with dark weather, so that we thought it convenient to take in our main-top-sail : but at noon we set it again, and also, our larboard top studden-sail, with both top-gallant sails ; we made a N. W. way, and by it thirty-four leagues. By an observation made we found lat. 10 deg. 55 N. We had now extreme hot weather, and a very small allowance of water.

January the 9th. Last night we took in our top-sails all night, the wind then whiffing between S. and W. points ; we had notwithstanding, for the most part, very little wind ; the morning was rainy, so that we providentially saved a bompkin of water. There was now a great rippling sea, rising very high. It is reported, there is an enchanted island hereabouts, which some positively say they have sailed over. I reckoned a N. W. by N. one quarter N. way, and twenty-five leagues ; this afternoon we had very dark and calm weather, looking as though we should have much rain : now reckoning up my meridian, I found myself E. from my departure seven hundred and two leagues ; in the evening we had very rainy weather, and a cockling sea. -

January the 10th. All the night past was cloudy, about midnight sprang up a small breeze varying all round the compass : at five this morning we had a breeze at S. E. and a very clear sky, which afterwards continued to freshen, with the same clearness as before ; we made a N. W. by N. one quarter N. way, and by the same two leagues and two thirds : by a clear observation we had now lat. 3 deg. 16 N. At four this morning the wind was at E. S. E. the weather being violent hot, insomuch, that our allowance

allowance of water being short, it was very tedious ; at the same time we had an indifferent smooth sea from the E.

January the 11th. All the night past we had little or no wind ; but about two in the morning the wind freshened again at E. N. E. and brought both a clear and hot day. We made twenty-three leagues by a N. W. one quarter W. way : this day's observation gave us lat. 4 deg. 6 N. In the afternoon we had a shower of rain, and after a fresh wind at E. N. E. but the evening grew dull.

January the 12th. In the night past we had two or three squalls of wind, and some showers of rain ; in the mean while the wind blew fresh at N. E. and N. E. by E. as it also continued to do in the day. I reckoned a N. W. way, and forty-four leagues and one third ; our observation this day gave us 5 deg. 49 N. Yesterday and to-day we set our main top-sail : now I could not find much variation of the needle.

January the 13th, we had a fresh gale all the last night ; but more northerly than before ; for now it was N. E. by N. We reckoned a W. N. W. way, and thereupon 3 leagues and two thirds ; an observation taken shewed us lat. 6 deg. 41 N. We had a N. N. E. sea, and very clear weather.

January the 14th, we had a clear night the last, and a fresh wind at E. N. E. We made a N. W. one fifth W. way, and thirty-eight leagues : by an observation we found lat. 7 deg. 46 N. We had a smooth sea ; and now we were come to only three horns of water a day, which were in all but a quart allowance for each man ; the evening was clear, and we had a fresh wind.

Sunday, January the 15th. The night past was clear, and the wind fresh at E. N. E. and again at N. E. by E. very fresh : about eleven at night died



one of our companions, named William Stephens. It was commonly believed that he poisoned himself with manzanilla in Golfo Dulce, for he never had been in health since that time: this forenoon was cloudy; we reckoned forty-four leagues, and a N. W. way; an observation gave us this day 9 deg. 18 N. All the night we kept out our top-gallant sails; we saw hereabouts many large flying-fish: this morning also we threw over-board our dead man, and gave him two French volleys, and one English one. I found now again very small variation.

January the 16th, we had a clear night, and a very fresh wind at N. E. and E. N. E. with a long homing sea; my reckoning was a N. W. one seventh W. way, and thereby forty-eight leagues and one third. The observation made this day gave us latitude 10 deg. 48 N. I reckoned myself now east from my departure five hundred fifty three leagues; we had a cloudy evening.

January the 17th. All the night past we enjoyed a fresh wind, and so this day also, at N. E. by N. We made a N. W. half W. way, and thereupon forty-seven leagues and one third of a league. By observation we found lat. 12 deg. 19 N. We had now a long north sea; at noon this day we steered away N. N. W. The day was very hot, but the night both cool and dewy.

January the 18th. All the night past was both cloudy and windy; at six this morning our sprit-sail top-mast broke; I reckoned a W. N. W. way, and forty-eight leagues by the same; we found by observation lat. 13 deg. 12 N. At noon we steered away W. the wind being at N. E. fresh, with a clear evening.

January the 19th, we had a clear night the last, and fresh wind at E. N. E. which sometimes came in pushes; our reckoning was a W. half southerly way,

way, and by the same forty-six leagues. We found by observation lat. 13 deg. 1 N. Yesterday in the evening we put up a new sprit-sail top-mast; with a fine smooth gale at N. E. by E.

January the 20th. The night past was clear, and not very fresh; but at day-break it freshened again. Last night we saw a great shoal of fish, whereof we caught none, by reason the porpusses frightened them from us, as they oftentimes had done before. Yesterday in the evening we saw a man of war fowl, and that gave us good hopes we should ere long see land: these hopes, and the great desire we had to end our voyage, gave us occasion this day to put in, or stake down, each man of our company, a piece of eight for a reward to him that should first discover land. We reckoned a W. one sixth northerly way, and by it thirty-eight leagues; an observation gave us this day lat. 13 deg. 11 N. The wind was at N. E. and N. E. This day we passed over many riplings, and saw abundance of fish; but we could take none for the porpusses.

On January the 21st, we made a W. way, and reckoned forty-seven leagues. By Observation we found latitude 13 deg. 7 N. The wind was at E. N. E. and from thence came a long sea; the evening was very clear.

January the 22d, we had a fair and a clear day, the wind being at E. We reckoned a W. by N. one third W. way, and forty leagues; an observation shewed us lat. 13 deg. 17 N. We had a clear evening, and a fresh wind at E. N. E.

January the 23d. This day was both clear and hot, with a fresh wind at E. N. E. My reckoning was a W. way, and forty-six leagues: our observation made this day, afforded us latitude 13 deg. 15 N. In the evening we had some rain.



January the 24th. This day brought us likewise clear weather, such as the day before. I reckoned a W. way, and forty leagues and one third. By observation we found latitude 13 deg. 12 N. The afternoon was cloudy, and had some rain, the wind freshening at E. N. E. and E. by N. I reckoned now that I was E. from my departure 311 leagues. We had a cloudy evening.

January the 25th. Both last night and this morning the weather was cloudy. This morning we saw several tropick birds of divers sorts. Our reckoning was a W. three quarters N. way, and forty-three leagues. We found by observation lat. 13 deg. 29 N. This afternoon we saw a booby flying close aboard the horizon. The weather was hazy; and now we began to look out sharp on all sides for land, expecting to see it every minute. I reckoned myself to be eastward of my departure 268 leagues.

January the 26th. The night past was indifferent clear; yet notwithstanding, this morning we had a smart shower of rain and wind: hereupon we furled the sprit-sail, the weather being very bazy to the westward. We reckoned W. way, and thereby forty-six leagues and one third. By observation taken we found lat. 13 deg. 17 N. At noon this day we had a very fierce tornado, and rainy together; but withal a clear afternoon. We had a high E. N. E. sea, and saw multitudes of flying-fish; also several fowls, and amongst these two or three boobies. The evening was hazy.

January the 27th. All night past we had a fresh wind and clear weather. This morning our fore-top-mast back-stay gave way, and at day-break the star-board-sheet of our fore-top-sail broke. We had several tornadoes this day and dark weather. Our reckoning was a W. way, and forty-eight leagues by

by the same. We had a clear evening, and a dark night. This day also a certain bird called a noddy came on board us, which we took for a certain token that we were not now very far from land.

Saturday, January the 28th. We had a very clear night the last past. About an hour before day one of our company happened to descry land, which proved to be the island of Barbadoes, at S. S. W. from us, and at about two leagues and an half distance from Chalky Mount, standing S. W. by S. As we sailed we saw several ships at anchor in Spike's-Road. Soon after a shallop passed by between us and the shore, but would not come within call of us. Hereupon we stood in within a mile of the shore, and made a whiff to a pinnace which we saw coming out of the road before-mentioned. She came close aboard, and was the barge belonging to his majesty's frigate the Richmond, then lying at Bridge-town at anchor. They told us of a peace at home, but would not come on board us, though often invited thereunto; neither dared we be so bold as to put into Barbadoes; for hearing of a frigate lying there, we feared lest the said frigate should seize us for privateers, and for having acted in all our voyage without commission. So we stood away from thence for the island of Antigua.

Here I cannot easily express the infinite joy we were possessed with all this day to see our own countrymen again. They told us, that a ship which we saw in the offing to leeward of the island was a Bristol man, and an interloper; but we feared that same vessel to be the frigate before-mentioned. I reckoned a way of twenty-five leagues, so that I was now, by my account, to eastward of my departure 151 leagues. Now we stood N. by W. and by observation found latitude 13 deg. 27 N. we being then N. W. from the body of the island of

Barbadoes between seven and eight leagues. This afternoon we freed the negro, who was our shoemaker by his trade, giving him his liberty for the good service he had done us in all the course of this voyage. We gave also to our good commander captain Sharp, a Mulatto boy to wait on him, as a free gift of the whole company, in token of our respects to him, for conducting us safe through so many dangerous adventures. This being done, we shared some parcels of money, that had not as yet been touched of our former prizes; and this dividend amounted to twenty-four pieces of eight a man.

At one of the clock this day, from our foreyard we descried the island of Santa Lucia, being one of the western islands not far distant from that of Barbadoes. I had omitted to tell a passage which happened in our ship on Thursday last, which was the 26th day of this month, and just two days before we made the island of Barbadoes. A little Spanish shock-dog, which we had found in our last wine prize, taken under the æquinoctial, and had kept alive till now, was sold at the mast by publick cry for forty pieces of eight; his owner saying that all he could get for him should be spent upon the company at a publick merriment. Our commander, captain Sharp, bought the dog, with intention to eat him in case we did not see land quickly. This money, therefore, with one hundred pieces of eight more which our boatswain, carpenter, and quarter-master had refused to take at this last dividend, for some quarrel they had against the sharers thereof, was all laid up in store till we came to land, in order to be spent on shore at a common feast or drinking bout. At sunset the island of Santa Lucia bore W. S. W. from us, and was

at

at ten leagues distance. : also the islands of Martinico bore N. W. by W. of us at 12 or 13 leagues distance. We had this day a very clear evening.

Sunday, January the 29th, we had a clear night, and a fresh wind at E. by N. and at E. N. E. Our reckoning was a N. N. W. half W. way, and hereby forty-six leagues. By observation we took latitude 15 deg. 45 N. At noon this day we saw the island named la Deseada, or the Desired Island, which then bore N. W. from us, and seemed to be at about eight leagues distance. At six in the evening we saw Marigalante, another of the Caribbee islands, at S. W. by W. from us, and that of Guadalupe, streaking itself in several hammocks of land, both westward and northward; and also la Deseada above-mentioned at S. E. which from thence shews like table-land, and at each end hath a low point running out. At six this evening it was W. S. W. and at five or six leagues distance from us. At the same time we saw the island of Monserrat at a great distance, and making three round hammocks close together. This evening we caught an albicore of twenty pounds weight.

Monday, January the 30th. We had a fair night all the last past, and a fresh wind: hereupon, all night we hauled up our main-sail in brails, standing at the same N. by W. with the wind at E. N. E. At midnight we stood N. W. At three in the morning we lay by till five; then we stood away W. N. W. till six; and then stood W. At eight of the clock we saw the island of la Antigua, called by us Antego, to the southward of us, making three round hammocks of land, and a long high hill to northward: hereupon we stood W. S. W. for it. At noon we found lat. 17 deg. N. the island being then just W. from us.

We came about to the south of the island, and sent a canoc ashore to get tobacco, and such other

necessaries as we wanted ; and also to ask leave of the governor to come into port. The gentry of the place and common people were very willing and desirous to receive us. But on Wednesday, February the first, the governor flatly denied us entry ; at which all the gentry were much troubled, shewing themselves very kind to us. Hereupon we agreed among ourselves to give the slip to those of our company who had no money left them of all their purchase in this voyage, having lost it at play ; and then put ourselves on board two ships bound for England. So I myself and thirteen more of our company, went on board captain Robert Porteen's ship, called the Lisbon Merchant, and set sail from la Antigua, February the 11th, and landed at Dartmouth in England, March the 26th, anno 1682.

A JOUR-

A  
JOURNAL.  
OF A  
VOYAGE  
Made into the  
SOUTH - S E A,  
BY THE  
BUCANIERS OR FREEBOOTERS  
OF AMERICA;

From the Year 1684, to 1689.

Written by the Sieur RAVENAU DE LUSSAN.

To which is added

The Voyage of the Sieur DE MONTAUBAN, Cap-  
tain of the FREEBOOTERS, on the Coast of Gui-  
nea, in the Year 1699.





# C E R T I F I C A T E S.

A certificate given by the governor of St. Domingo, to the author of this journal, concerning the service.

*The Sieur de Cussy, his majesty's governor of the Tortoise Island, and the coast of St. Domingo.*

**W**E do certify, That the Sieur Ravenau de Lufsan hath served in a company of fourscore and four men with the Sieur Lawrence de Graff, in the quality of an ensign against the Spaniards, his majesty's enemies; and that having gone into the South-Sea, he fell into the company of other freebooters, from whence not being able to return, but by the force of their arms, he has given upon those occasions signal proofs both of his zeal and courage. In testimony whereof we have given him this certificate, to which we have affixed our seal, and ordered our secretary to countersign the same.

*Given at the Fort of Port-Paix,  
the 17th of May, 1688.*

**DE CUSSE.**

By the governor's command,

**BOYER.**

## 110 CERTIFICATES.

*A copy of a letter written by monsieur De Cussy, his majesty's governor of the Tortoise Island, and coast of St. Dominge, to monsieur de Lubert, treasurer-general of the marine, upon the subject matter of this author's journal.*

S I R,

**I** HAVE taken notice from those letters you have done me the honour to write unto me the preceding years, that you interest yourself in the affairs of the Sieur Ravenau de Luffan; wherefore, Sir, I have thought it my duty to inform you of his return from the South-Sea, with two hundred and sixty of his comrades, who got clear out of that country by the performing of wonderful actions, the particulars whereof I shall not enter upon, since he will have the honour to give you an exact and faithful account of them himself, being the only person of all the company that has kept a journal.

I was in hopes to have got him embarked in the king's ship called *The Marine*, which was to be gone in two days; and monsieur de Beaudeau the commander promised me to give him his table upon your account; but the said Sieur de Luffan thinking the frigate to be gone, staid with me at Port-Paix, to wait an opportunity of meeting with another ship that should be bound directly for Dieppe. I heartily wish, Sir, I could meet with an opportunity of serving you in these parts; I should do it with exceeding pleasure, as being, with all deference and respect imaginable,

S I R,

*Your most humble and obedient servant,*

*At the Cape,*

DE CUSSEY.

*May 7, 1688.*

*A copy*

# CERTIFICATES. 111

*A copy of another letter written by the said monsieur de Gussy to the father of the author of this journal.*

S I R,

**I** CANNOT let your son be gone without testifying to you how much concerned I am in the satisfaction and joy you will have to see him in return from so long and toilsome a voyage, as I am confident of your being sorry at present, that I had not sent him home to you at the time you desired, which yet I should not have failed to do, had he not been absent, and at whose return I delivered him one of your letters, which I always preserved safe with those of monsieur de Lubert. He has no occasion to make use of me, though I have made him an offer of my utmost service. I may say, without vanity, that he has made the greatest and finest voyage in our age, and that he has seen countries which a great many people in the world content themselves to view in maps, without desiring any other sight of them, though they had all the riches thereof bestowed upon them for their pains. Besides the pleasure you will have to see your son again, you will have also that of hearing him discourse, pertinently enough, of his voyage and adventures; there being no other besides himself of all the company that can give an exact account thereof, as having all along applied himself to keep a very punctual journal of all transactions, which I am confident will be pleasing to my lord marquis de Signelay. I have myself the honour to write to him concerning it, that so I might engage your son to go and present it to him, which perhaps otherwise he would not have adventured to do, out of the

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the little esteem himself has of his own work. This is what offers itself at present for me to write to you, assuring you, I should take a deal of pleasure to find myself in any condition to serve him, and that I am,

S I R,

*Your most humble, and*

*most obedient Servant,*

*At the Fort of Port-Paix,  
May the 18th, 1668.*

DE CUSSE.

# A JOURNAL, &c.

## CHAP. I.

*A journal of a voyage made by the free-booters into the South-Sea, 1684, and in the following years.*

**I**T is no very uncommon thing for a child, that is a native of *Paris*, to go and seek his fortune abroad, and to entertain a fixed design of becoming a man engaged in hazardous adventures. This city, within which most of the wonders of the world are contained, and which is perhaps the greatest that can be met with, ought, in my opinion, to have the preference of any other upon the face of the earth. But who is he that can penetrate into the secrets of nature, and give a reason for some sort of inclinations she works in the minds of mortals; as for myself, I confess I am not able to give an account of the depth of my desires; and all that I can say, is; that I have always had a most passionate disposition for travel. Scarce was I seven years old, when, through some innate notions, whereof I had not the mastery, I began to steal out of my father's house: it is true, my first rambles were not far, because my age and strength would not allow them to be so; but they were so much the more frequent; and I have often given my parents the trouble to look after me in the suburbs, and that place we call *la Villette*: however, as I grew up, my excursions were the larger, and by degrees I accustomed myself to lose a sight of *Paris*.

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This rambling sort of humour was accompanied with another, which I dare not dignify with the name of a martial one, but was such as wrought in me an ardent desire to see some siege or battle: I could not hear the noise of the drum in the streets without those transports of mind, the remembrance whereof does still operate a kind of a vigorous heat and joy in me. It so fell out at length, that I met with an officer, with whom I had but a slender acquaintance; but my warlike genius quickly inclined me to make him my friend. I looked upon him as a person who could be very serviceable to me in my designs; and it was with this prospect I applied myself to manage him. The siege of Conde being happily commenced at this time, and he being obliged to serve there with his company, I made him the offer of a sword that had hitherto done neither good nor harm to any man, but which I was passionately desirous to make use of. Here it was that he gave me the first instances of his friendship, for he took me freely along with him, and kept me all the campaign; at the breaking-up whereof I returned with him, no ways discouraged, or weary of war, as the greatest part of them are, who have had but just a taste of it. And this I tell you was my first adventure.

The second was not quite so good in regard to the success that attended it, though it was alike agreeable to my palate, and according to my heart's desire. I happened to become a cadet in the marine regiment, but I fell into the hands of a captain who was wondrous skilful to drain children of good families of their money; so that this campaign, wherein I hoped to have done the king some service, was worn away in expences. My father gave more than he should, or I deserved, to get my discharge, and to set me once at full liberty to take what I liked best;

best; it was not perhaps his inclination I should do so, but it was mine, and I was not long to seek.

God, who, it seems, was not willing to make me out of conceit with the trade, was so much the better guide unto me at this time, as I was so ill-guided before; for monsieur the count d'Avegean, whose personal merit has sufficiently distinguished him in the body of the French guards, took me along with him to the siege of St. Guislane, where I failed not to meet with new pleasures in the use of arms, though it were never so hot. There were a great many men's lives lost at this siege; which yet did not cool the desire I had to hazard my own: and though my parents, who could not well brook this my gadding humour, were in hopes the fatigues of war would cure me of it, they were mistaken in the matter; for I was no sooner got upon the stones of Paris, but I grew weary of being there. I had nothing but voyages in my head, and those that were longest, and most accompanied with dangers, appeared to me to be the best. For a person never to get out of his native country, and to be ignorant how the rest of the earth stands, appeared to me a matter that should be appropriated to a woman only: whereas it was my judgment, that a man should never be confined to one place, and that nothing could suit him better than to make himself acquainted with all those of his own species. To travel by land, I thought both long and difficult, and therefore I concluded I could sooner and more safely accomplish my designs by betaking myself to the sea; and now you find me ready to go on board.

There was nothing omitted on the part of parents, that were full of tender affections for an extravagant child, to divert me from my resolution: but as to young men, such as I was, it may be said,

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as is usually done of womenkind : that “ what they will, God wills ;” and to say the truth, I was over-ruled by my inclination herein ; wherefore when they perceived, that absolutely to oppose my humour would make me but the more opiniative, they proposed I should take a voyage for St. Domingo, where I should find friends and protection in case of need ; and as this exactly suited both with my desires and designs, and that provided I could get to sea, I did not care whither bound, I very readily obeyed.

Dieppe was the place where I embarked, and from whence I parted on the 5th of March, 1679, with greater satisfaction of mind than I am well able to express. That element, which to the generality of men seems very frightful, appeared to me the most amiable and delightful of any in the world. The winds, if I may say so, wrought in me some delight ; for I found that almost every little blast brought us happily onwards on our way : and I was so overjoyed to find myself in so desirable an island, that I thought no more of the hazards my voyage made me liable to. Let no man therefore be amazed thereat, if he finds none of them contained in my journal : and seeing there are other persons who have been particular enough in their relations given of this passage, I have this only to say, that I safely arrived, through the mercy of God, at St. Domingo ; and if any one has the curiosity to follow me in my remaining expedition he must begin from thence.

I continued there, however, for above three years, not only to see the country, but through such conjunctures as would not admit me to go out of it. I found myself chained there to a Frenchman, that was so far from deserving the name of one, that his hardened malice much better became a Turk. But what misery soever I have undergone with him, I  
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freely forgive him, being resolved to forget his name, which I shall not mention in this place, because the laws of christianity require it at my hands; though as to matter of charity he is not to expect much of that in me, since he on his part has been every way defective in the exercise thereof upon my account. But my patience was at last quite worn out, being weary of those cruelties, whereof I saw no end: I made my complaints to monsieur de Franquesnay the king's lieutenant, who acted as governor since the other's decease, and whose generosity proved to be a sanctuary to me: he readily consented to take me to his own house, where I staid six whole months.

I had borrowed money in the mean time, and I thought it was the part of an honest man to repay it. My parents would have been perhaps very willing to have paid my debts, but they could hear nothing from me, nor I from them; and the letters they sent me, passed through such officious hands, that they spared us the charge of postage. I was therefore necessitated to seek out some other way to free myself: and this I found in meeting with that which satisfied the natural inclination I had for travelling. I bethought myself of making one of the Free-booters gang, to go a voyage with them, and to borrow, for the payment of my debts, as much money as I could from the Spaniards. Now these sorts of borrowings have this advantage attending them, that there is no obligation of repayment, as in our country, they being esteemed the product of a just war; and seeing the place of action is beyond the Line, there is no talk there of making any restitution: besides which, we may also observe in this place, that there was then a rupture between the two crowns, and that we had a formal commission from my lord admiral to infest the Spaniards.

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There was no question to be made, but I could find a captain that would receive me; and I was not long in making the choice, since there were not many of them at that time to pitch upon. Laurence de Graff was the man I most fancied, who would make a special corsair; and though he had not been long arrived, all that he wanted, was to be gone as well as I. We were in a few hours time satisfied with each other, and became such friends, as those are wont to be who are about to run the same risque of fortune, and apparently to die together. This last indeed we should have reckoned upon with the most appearance of reason, but it was what we least thought of. My departure took up all my thoughts: I furnished myself with arms and other small necessaries, at the charge of mons. de Franquesnay, who was very ready to advance me some money, which I have paid him since, and whose kindness I shall never forget. At last the day came, and I must freely say, it was, in my opinion, one of the best in the course my life. On the 22d of November, in the year 1684, we departed from Petit-Gaves, on the coast of St. Domingo, to the number of 120 men, on board a prize taken some time before, captain Laurence de Graff, from the Spaniards, which they sent as an advice-boat from Carthagena on the Terra Firma of America, to Spain. Our design was to go and join ourselves with a fleet of Free-booters, which we were in hopes to meet with before the Havanna, a great city in the isle of Cuba to the north, and about fourteen leagues distant from St. Domingo.

We anchored on the 4th of December at the Tortoise Island to take in water, and on the 6th sailed away in order to return to the coast of St. Domingo, which is but three leagues off, where we arrived the 12th, and casting anchor at Cape Francis, we took in our full store of water and wood. We left this

this place on the 17th, and were taken with a north wind two leagues from the road in such a manner, that we lost our shallop, which was too big to be put upon our gibbet. Towards evening we sailed back to a place of safety, whereby we were obliged to stay two days waiting for a canoe we had sent to buy at the cape, from whence we came, such things as we wanted, for making up the loss of our shallop.

On the 20th, we made ready to endeavour to re-join the Victorious, a ship that came with us from the cape, belonging to Nantes, and bound to the Isles of the Wind, which had on board the commander of St. Laurence, lieutenant-general of the French Islands and the coasts of the Terra-Firma of America, and monsieur Begon, intendant of justice, policy, and the finances of that country, to whom we served as convoy, lest they should have been attacked by the Spanish periaugues that cruize thereabouts. And indeed we had a great deal of reason to be concerned for the safety of those gentlemen, who were in much esteem with all the colonies of the islands, because of the good order they kept, the exact justice they administered, and the tranquillity the people enjoyed under them; but we could not possibly set sight on this ship, as not knowing what course she steered.

The-three-and-twentieth we steered our own course, and in the evening discovered a ship to leeward of us, to whom we gave chase; but she braced to, to wait for us; and when we were come up with her, we found it was captain le Sieur of Dieppe, who commanded a flute called the Aramantha, whom we quickly left, keeping our own course. But on the five-and-twentieth, which was Christmas-Day, we had a great calm till next day, when the wind proving contrary, obliged us to put back to the port of Plata,  
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on the coast of St. Domingo, where we staid to the end of the month:

On the first of January in the new year 1685, we doubled cape St. Francis, and next day by ten in the morning did the same by Cape Cabron, as we doubled that of Savona towards noon, they being all situated on the same coast; and that day one of our men died.

On the fourth we sailed in sight of la Mena; next day coasted the isle of Porto Rico, and la Savona, and then steered south-east and by south, till the eleventh, when we discovered the isles of Ave, towards which we bore till the evening, and doubled them on the twelfth about eleven in the morning, keeping still the same course till we came to the isle de la Roca; where there was also another rendezvous of our men of war to be, which we were going to seek out.

On the thirteenth, at seven in the morning we discovered the main land of America, and were becalmed next day, which continued to the fifteenth at noon, when we had a fresh gale, and steered north-north-east till the seventeenth, when about moon-setting we descried two ships and four boats to windward of us, about a cannon's shot distance, that had the cape of us, which brought us upon deck to make all ready.

One of these boats on the eighteenth, by break of day, being a tartane commanded by captain John Rose, as not knowing us presently, came up and hailed us; and as our captain had a commission from the lord high-admiral of France, the count of Thoulouse, we made answer from Paris, and put out our flag; but Rose, who would not know us so, believing we had no other intention in feigning ourselves to be a king's ship than to get clear of him, gave us two guns to make us strike, insomuch, that taking him  
really

really for a Spaniard, we knocked out the heads of two barrels of powder, in order to burn ourselves and blow up the ship, rather than fall into the hands of those people, who never gave us quarter, but were wont to make us suffer all imaginable torments, they beginning usually with the captain, whom they hang with his commission about his neck: but one of the two ships came up with us in a moment, and knowing what we were gave us a signal, which was so much the more satisfaction to us, that instead of enemies, which we took them to be, they proved to be not only friends, but those very ships we were in quest of, which obliged us to put in at the Cape, and spend that day to visit one another.

One of these two ships belonged to captain Michael Landresson, and was callèd *The Mutinous*, but formerly *The Peace*; and the other to captain Laurence de Graff, whose name was *The Neptune*, but once *The Saint Francis*, and which he had quitted when he went in his prize to Saint Domingo to get a new commission of the governor, his own that he had being then expired. The first of these ships carried fifty pieces of cannon, and the other forty-four, and had both of them been two Spanish armadillas, who the year before coming out of Carthage, to take the ships commanded as well by the captains Laurence and Michael, as those of captains John Quet and Le Sage, were themselves taken by those whom they were about to become masters of: and as for the four boats they were commanded by other captains, whose names were Rose, Vigneron, La Garde, and an English traitor from Jamaica; by them we were informed that they were watching in that place for the patach of Marguerita, and a squadron of Spanish ships, which they expected would sail that way, in order to take them.

On the nineteenth we resolved to quit that post, and did all we could to get up with the isle of Curasso, a great part whereof belongs to the Hollanders. We sailed in sight of those of Bonnara and Roube; and about two in the afternoon of the same day we chased a Flemish boat that came from the port of Guaira on the continent, and was returning to the town of Curasso, two leagues to leeward of which we anchored that evening in the port of Sancta Barba.

On the twentieth we sent away a boat under the command of La Garde to the town to ask the governor leave to buy us masts for captain Laurence's ship, that had lost them in a hurricane near the isle of St. Thomas; but this he absolutely refused, and shut up the gates against us. Upon the boat's return, and relation given us of the governor's refusal, I carried him a copy of our commission, hoping to engage him by that means to grant us our request; but he still persisted to deny us, while a part of our crew scrupled not in the mean time to go ashore, and enter into the town, after having left their swords behind them at the gate.

On the twenty-third our ships weighed anchor, in order to sail for Santa Cruz, which stands seven leagues to leeward of this town; and in our passage by the fort we saluted it, and they returned us gun for gun: but the governor finding we were two hundred men of us in the town, informed us on the twenty-fourth, by beat of drum, that it was his pleasure we should be gone, and return forthwith on board our ships, and that he would give us shallops to carry us thither, provided we paid him two pieces of eight a man. I presently discerned it was his will we should not go back by land, because we must for that purpose cross a lake that stands at the foot of the fort, which he had forbidden us to pass;

pass; and this made me go and tell him, we gave him thanks for his shallop, that if we were minded to go by sea to rejoin our ships, we had periaugues to carry us thither; and that we had no other design to get to them by land but for a walk's sake: to which he answered, 'That the inhabitants there scrupled to let us see their island;' but for all that he would not let us pass over the lake, and so we were two days before we could reach Santa Cruz, where our ships were waiting for us.

We came afterwards to know the reason of the governor's displeasure against us, which was, that captain Laurence and captain Michael's ships had taken two Dutch ships before the Havannah, that were freighted for the Spaniards, having two hundred thousand pieces of eight that belonged to their company, which the free-booters meddled not with, being at peace with that nation; and they easily persuaded their principal that all had been taken from them, and so we were punished for the knavery these Dutchmen practised towards their own people.

Though this island of Curassô be well enough known in France, I cannot but take notice, as I go along, that the temperature of its air is the same with that of St. Domingo, and produces the same sort of fruits; that the land is almost level throughout, and the country very naked, because of the little wood that grows there; but almost barren in several places, and produces little to the owners besides maize and small millet; yet it is watered with several springs and rivers. The town that stands upon it is small, but very neat, being encompassed with an high though very thin wall: there is a good and safe port belongs to it, and the fort that commands it, as well as the town, is very regularly fortified. The inhabitants are of several sorts of



religions, the exercise thereof being free ; the chief of which is that of the Dutch, of the Jews, as well as of others ; each of whom have their respective places of worship in the town. The chief of their trade consists in sugar that grows there, and of wool which comes from the sheep which breed upon the place in great numbers ; besides the skins of those animals, as also of a great many oxen and cows which they keep in the lowest and best watered grounds of this island, where it abounds in pasture. They are altogether affected to the Spanish nation, with whom they have the main of their trade.

On the twenty-seventh we made ready, and steered our course for Cape la Vella, which is on the continent of America, where we designed to fix ourselves in order to wait for the patach of Marguerita, whereof I have already spoken : the same day captain Vignerón's boat left us to return to the coast of St. Domingo, because they had not men enough to make any thing of the enterprise, there being no more than twenty on board her.

Being come to the Cape by the thirtieth, we anchored there ; and our next care was to set some centinels, to the number of fifteen, upon the top of it, to give us notice when they discovered the patach ; but next day we thought it more adviseable to pursue this following method to get intelligence : we sent on the first of February captain Rose's boat to the mouth of the river la Hache on the continent, inhabited by the Spaniards, and about twenty leagues distant from the Cape where we then were, under pretence of trading with them, but in reality with a design to make some prisoners, that so we might be informed whether the patach was passed by that way or no ; for it  
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was usual for her to take in part of her lading in that river.

While we waited for the return of this boat, I and some others went ashore to view and observe the country about the Cape. I understood it was inhabited by a most cruel, barbarous; and savage Indian nation, who are neither friends to, nor have any society with any other people whatsoever, no not even with the Spaniards themselves who live round about them. They eat without any distinction whatever they can catch, and are afraid of nothing but swords and the like weapons; but as for fire-arms they matter them not at all. We were satisfied to have a sight of them as we returned, without having the curiosity to make a trial of their teeth, by going farther up into the country where there was nothing to be got.

I am not able to forbear in this place to give a strange example of what I am speaking, and of what this people can do, whom I take to be the oldest free-booters of America. The marquis of Maintenon, governor of the Isle of Maragalant, who had the command of one of the king's frigates called The Witch, having taken a prize of fourteen guns, which he went on board, and finding himself one day separated from his own ship, was constrained, in order to take in water, to cast anchor at Boca del Drago on the Terra Firma of America, which was inhabited by the same Indian people as live at Cape la Valla. He brought his ship as near the shore as he could, and bringing all his cannon to bear on one side, he sent under the covert of them his shallop, with two-and-twenty armed men, to fill their casks with water, and rushing upon them in spite of the continual fire made upon them from the cannon of the man of war, they carried her with the two-and-twenty

men for above fifty paces to land, where, after they had killed them, every one took his man upon his back, and moved them off; then they returned, and swimming to cut the cables of the ship to make her drive ashore, they hoped also to serve those on board the same fauce.; but as good luck would have it they had time to loose their sails, and to make ready to put farther off from the shore.

On the second we put our ships into a careening posture, and on the eighth Rose's boat returned to us, and gave an account, that as soon as they had anchored at the mouth of La Hache, they sent a small canoe with six Englishmen in it ashore; they being of our crew, and at peace then with the Spaniards, who agreed with them, that next morning about sun-rising they would fire a gun to give the other notice to come on board to traffick with them; that in the night they had put thirty men ashore to surprize those of the Spaniards that should pass to-and-fro; but that the Spaniards having discerned the snare that was laid for them, fired all night, which gave all the inhabitants the alarm: that next morning our people fired their cannon of signal according to the agreement, and put out English colours; but it was to no purpose, for the Spaniards, according to all appearance, had no inclination for those goods: they supposed we would trade with them in; so that our men finding their design had miscarried, weighed anchor, and sailed away to join us.

As we were of opinion at last that there was no hopes the patach would pass that way, we held a council on board our ship about forming another design; but not being able to agree with captain Laurence (who was owner of two-thirds of the Neptune) because he would have imposed upon us, there were fourscore and seven that quitted the ship, and went on board the prize in which we came from Saint

Saint Domingo, and so left him on the thirteenth. He weighed and steered his course thitherward: captain Michael and captain John Rose weighed also, and sailed for Carthagena; and we, who were irresolute what way to take, followed the latter.

On the twenty-fifth we had a hard easterly breeze, which carried us beyond a river that runs on the Terra Firma, and is by the Spaniards called Rio Grande, where we should have taken in water, which continues sweet within the sea for three or four leagues from the mouth of it, for all it rains so little, and provided you take that which runs on the superficies. About three of the same day, in the afternoon, we saw Our Lady de la Poupa, which is also on the continent, and the twenty-sixth anchored at the isles of Saint Bernard, from whence we parted in the evening with three periaugues only, in order to get to windward of Carthagena, to endeavour to seek us some provision which they continually carry to that place, and our design had in effect the desired success.

We returned on the 18th with seven periaugues laden with maize, which we made good prize: by the Spaniards that were in them, we understood that there were two galleons at Carthagena, and that the Spanish flota was at Porto-Bello; and that two ships, one carrying twenty, and the other twenty-four guns, would quickly set out from thence; but we did not think fit to wait for them, because they could not assign to us any determinate time when they should sail.

On the twenty-second at noon we weighed, and towards evening discovered Point Picaron on the continent, and the isles of Palmas: about two hours within the night, we doubled the greatest point of these islands. The next morning, which was the twenty-third, we found ourselves separated from captain Michael and captain Rose, and then

it was we took a resolution of attempting to cross over the continent, to the end we might get into the South-Sea; in order to which we sailed to the bay of the isle d'Or, which is inhabited by the Indians of Sambes, that so we might know of them (who were our friends) what success the other free-booters met with, who, we had been told, were gone thither some months before.

From the twenty-third at night to the twenty-fourth we kept to the Cape, being afraid of entering into the gulf of Arian; and that morning, by break of day, we made nearer the shore to discover where we were, and upon trial we found it to be a point of the wind in that gulf, which the currents made us to double.

Between this Gulf and Cape Matance happened a very remarkable adventure. We had on board our ship a soldier belonging to the Spanish galleons, whom we had taken to windward of Carthagena in one of the periaugues, whereof we found the maize before spoken of, who, out of despair to find himself made a prisoner, though he was very kindly used, took a resolution, as appeared by what followed, to throw himself into the sea, to which end he went five or six times upon deck without being able to put his design in execution, and that in all likelihood out of a secret resistance he found within himself to do it; but at last, after several attempts, he effected the same, which excited my curiosity to enquire into the circumstances thereof; I found that, contrary to what usually happens in such cases, the body, which fell down with full force into the water, floated a long time upon the back by the ship's side, though to our apprehension he did all he could to drown himself; but when out of compassion, to save his life, we threw out some of our tackle for him to catch hold on, he not only refused

fused to make use of them, but turned himself upon his face, and plunged to the bottom.

On the twenty-fifth, at eleven in the morning, we arrived and anchored at the isle d'Or, or Golden Island, and at the same time fired a gun to give the Indians notice of our coming: then we went ashore to know what that flag was we discovered at a distance from us, where we found three men belonging to captain Grogner and captain Lescuier's crew, who told us, that they tarried there because they would not go with the other free-booters, who were on their journey to the South-Sea, under the conduct of those two captains; and that as soon as ever they saw us, they had set up that flag as a signal for us to come up to them.

The six-and-twentieth came some Indians with letters on board us, which were directed to the first free-booters that should anchor in that road, to give them notice that they were gone, to the number of an hundred and seventy men to that sea, and some small time before them an hundred and fifteen English; besides which, they also sent us some instructions how to demean ourselves towards the Indians through whose territories we must pass; wherewith we were fully confirmed in the project we had already formed of undertaking this expedition: and though we were but four score and seven men; yet we made ourselves ready to be gone. In the mean time some other Indians came also on board us, by whom we were informed, that captain Grogner and captain Lescuier were still in their territories; and not yet gone to the South-Sea, which made us write to them by one of those two Indians, to let them know that we were coming to them.

On the twenty-seventh at noon we saw captain Michael and captain Rose turn into the same port, which made us go presently on board, to know

what made them come in and anchor in that road. They told us they had been in chase of a Spanish ship named the Hardy, come from Saint Jago on the coast of Cuba, and bound for Carthagena; but not being able to come up with her, they were come into this port, as being the nearest, to take in water. Then we shewed them the letters we had received, which wrought a desire in many of them to come and increase our number, insomuch that an hundred and eighteen men quitted Michael's ship, and the whole crew of captain Rose, being sixty-four men, who burnt their vessel when they had paid the owners the price of it. We were not then for delaying, but on the twenty-ninth quitted our ships and went ashore, where we encamped to the number of two hundred and sixty-four persons; but as to the ship belonging to our particular crew, we left her in the hands of captain Michael rather than burn her.

### C H A P. II.

*Our passage cross the Continent of America to go to the South-Sea.*

**SUNDAY** the first of March in the year 1685; after we had recommended ourselves to the Almighty's protection, we set out under the command of captain Rose, captain Picard, and captain Desmarais, with two Indian guides, and about forty more of that nation, whom we took along with us for the ease of those who were most burdened among us. We could not travel above three leagues that day, and encamped by a river side; after we had passed through a country that presently discovered a terrible aspect to us, and then proved very difficult to travel in, because of the mountains, precipices, and impenetrable forests whereof it is full; and the difficulty of our journey was still the more increased by the great rains that

fell all the next day. To say nothing that in our ascending the mountains, which are of a prodigious height, we were clogged with the weight of our ammunition, arms, and other iron tools we carried with us. Upon our coming down upon these mountains we got into a plain, which, though it was without any tracts or ways, yet appeared very easy unto us; but that we were obliged no less than four-and-forty times in the space of but two leagues to cross the same river, which, because it ran between very slippery rocks, gave us a great deal of trouble to get over it, being always in danger of falling.

On the fourth we lay in an Indian carbet, which is a spacious sort of a lodging, but almost like a barn, wherein the people are wont to meet together; there we staid next day to go a hunting, where we found great numbers of deer, and all sorts of birds. Amongst others we saw a kind of animal which the Indians call Manipouryei, and we Trefoil, because as they go along each of their feet leaves the print of this simple in the ground. This animal is as big as a small bullock, but his hair is not so long, and more sleek; his legs are short, he has the head of an ass, but a sharper nose, and walks in the bottom of the water as well as on dry land. They have here also a sort of hogs, which they call Vents, because of an opening place they have in the form of a navel upon their backs. We may farther take notice of those beasts, they call Agoutils and Ovisitils, which both the one and the other of them are very like those we call Indian pigs in France, but much bigger. The monkeys of this country are almost as big as sheep, live in forests; and seldom come down from the trees, where they always find their food; they are so hardy, that though you shoot them with a fuzee in the head, or through both shoulders, they shall not fall to the ground; and many times for all



what you can do, they have so much cunning in their fall as to twist their tails, which are very long, about the branch of a tree, where they hang and waste away, without any possibility of coming at them, because they generally make choice of the tallest trees for the places of their retreat.

I cannot without smiling call to mind what I have done to one of these animals, which, after I had made several shots at him with my fuzee that carried off part of his belly, insomuch that his guts came out, he'd himself by one of his paws, or hands (if you will) by the branch of a tree, while he put his entrails with the other into that part of his belly that still remained whole.

There was another of them whom I shot with a small bullet across his nose, and who finding himself blinded with the blood that gushed out, had so much industry as to wipe it off with the leaves of the tree whereon he stood. Here also we found harats, which are a sort of birds as big again as parrots, to whom they are very like, even to the note they have: but their feathers are infinitely more fine; for their wings and tail, which is very long, are of so lively and bright flaming colour, that you cannot for some time fix your eye upon them without being dazzled. Here we saw those fowls called Oecos, which are pretty like unto our Indian turkey-hens, but with this difference, that they have a small tuft of feathers upon their heads that resembles a cock's comb, and a round of yellow about their eyes: they differ from one another in colour; the male's feathers being inclinable to red, whereas the female's are blackish; but are never found asunder. Their partridges are larger than our Europeans, and their flesh is whiter but not so good, and their note is different from ours. As to their pheasants they are smaller than those in Europe, and their flesh nothing near so palatable, but

But their notes are much the same. Besides these, there are in this country a multitude of other birds, with whose names I think it needless to swell this journal, because, as the islands of America are full of them, there is already an exact account given of them in those relations that have been made of these countries, and it is enough that I give a description of such as are not to be found in these islands, or of another kind: yet I shall say this farther, that lizzards breed here in abundance, and there are different sizes of them; they are animals that resemble pretty nearly those whom we call cayements, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter; their flesh is good to eat, and their eggs, which are as big as pigeons eggs, have an excellent taste, and are much better than our hens eggs. This hunting bout was a great relief to us against that hunger we had endured, because it was the first repast we had met with since our journey; but this I reckoned nothing in comparison of the miseries which we were to suffer in a vast number of other adventures.

At last, after six days painful and wearisome travelling, even beyond all that can well be imagined, we got to the river which the Indians and Spaniards call Bocca del Chica, that discharges itself into the South-Sea.

On the seventh the Indians of that place carried us to see trees that were proper to make our canoes of, in order to get down that river into the South-Sea. We presently fell to work upon them with our utensils and iron tools which we had brought along with us, after we had agreed with the captains of these Indians for furnishing us in the mean time with victuals, which consisted in maize, potatoes, bananoes, and magniot-roots, till we had done our work, upon condition that we gave them cloth, knives, thread, needles, pins, scissars, hatchets, bills,

bills, combs, and such like small wares, which are in great esteem with them; though the savages are not ignorant of the advantage that doth arise to them from these things.

It was partly with these toys that we lived and kept a good correspondence with them during our passage through their country; but what made the conjuncture still more favourable unto us, was the resentment they had at that time of the ill usage they had received at the hands of the Spaniards, against whom they were so incensed, that they begged our assistance to be revenged on them. And had it not been for this, it would have been a very difficult task for us, if not impossible, to cross the country against their will, not only because of their numbers, which made them infallibly much stronger than we, but also by reason of the many forests and difficult passages their country is incumbered with, which we could not have gone through without we had some of themselves for our guides; but for all this, we did not think ourselves so safe amongst these men, but that we kept continually upon our guard, because we were well assured they were such wretches as were at the service always of those that gave them most; and that though they appeared one minute to be our friends, they might become the next the Spaniards, who are nearer neighbours to them. Their treacherous dealings have proved fatal to some free-booters who have put too much confidence in them, when a small number of them passing through their country, these people gave notice thereof to the Spaniards; and that they might give an exact account of their number, they took them in a defile, and as they marched along they put a corn of maes into a calabash for every man that passed by; and when they had done, carried the calabash to the enemy, who thereupon took their measures accordingly.

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There is no sign of religion, or of the knowledge of God amongst them; they holding that they have communion with the devil: and in short, when they would know any thing, they spend the night in the woods in order to consult him; and they sometimes foretold us some things that have been true in the event in every particular circumstance of the relation they had given us. They lead a wandering and vagabond life, and fix their abode in no certain place. They generally erect their ajoupas or barracks upon a river side, where they continue till they have spent what sustenance they find thereabouts; and when that is done they go and do the same thing upon another river, and in this manner spend the term of their miserable lives. They go naked, except it be that they cover a part of their privities with a bit of silver or gold that is made like a candle extinguisher; and were I but satisfied that they had ever seen such a thing, I should think they took their model from it.

When they feast, or hold other solemn meetings, they put on a cotton robe, all of one piece, as it is usual with them, in a vaunting manner, to have a bit of gold or caracolay of an oval form hanging at their nose, which is bored through, and with this they think themselves as fine as any in the world. As for the women kind, they cover themselves from the waist downwards with an herb or cotton cloth, which they make themselves; and that they may appear finer, they colour their faces with rocou, which is a small grain that dyes a brown red.

On the twenty-third, as we had finished the building of our canoes, we had news brought us by an Indian, who was returned from conducting the one hundred and fifteen English before spoken of to the South Sea, whither they were gone before us, that they had taken, under the command of Townsley their captain, two ships laden with provision, coming  
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from Lima. He brought along with him a man of captain Grognet's crew, who was lost in the woods a hunting, while his comrades were making their canoes in the same river where we were building ours.

On the twenty-eighth we received news again by an Indian captain, who had conducted captain Grognet and captain Lescuyer into the South-Sea, in a letter which they sent us, that they would stay for us at King's Islands, and desired us to lose no time, but to come and have our share in taking of the fleet of Peru, which they waited for: but for all the expedition we could use our canoes could not be finished before the last of March, when we drew them into the river.

April the first we parted with fourteen canoes, carrying about twenty oars apiece, guided by twenty Indians, who made use of this opportunity in order to participate of the booty which they thought we were about to take from the Spaniards as soon as ever we got again into the South-Sea.

We rested on the fourth to tarry for our men who were behind, and to mend our canoes that were dampified by the rocks and flats we met with all along that river. It cannot be believed what pains we had to bring them to the great water (as I may call it) for we met with places where they rested dry, so that we were in a manner forced to carry them. This day died one of our men of the bloody flux, which was very rife amongst us, because we were forced to fast so long, and by reason of the hard feeding we had, and our continual dabbling in the water.

On the fifth we put on, and about evening found the river deeper, but so full of and encumbered with trees, which the floods had carried thither, that our canoes were in danger every minute to be lost; and this day died two of our men.

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On the sixth we got to the great water, where the river is wider and deeper ; and that day we spent on the banks of it to dry our sacks, which were wet through with the great rains that fell the day before. Another of our men died this day.

From hence to the eleventh we did all we could to get quickly to the mouth of the river, where we were informed by an Indian, that was come in a small vessel to meet us, that the English and French free-booters had sent ashore in a little bay called Boca del Chica (that stands at the mouth of that river) some corn for our refreshment when we should get down thither ; for they could gather very well by themselves, who had been so straightened there for provision, whereabouts we must be ; and indeed we had so little, that we were reduced to a handful of raw maiz for each man a day.

The same day we received farther news, and by other Indians, who gave our guides notice to tell us, that a thousand Spaniards being informed of our descent, mounted up along this river by land, with a design to lay an ambuscade for us : hereupon we resolved not to stir, but in the night-time, and that without noise, that so we might shun them ; and this succeeded accordingly. But we fell into another incumbrance ; and that was, we being strangers in this country, and knowing no more than our guides, how high the tide flowed in this river, we were surprized with the coming in of it, and it drove us and our canoes very far, so that one of them was overfet with a great tree that had fallen into the river, and upon which the swiftness of the current threw it, but it luckily fell out that no one was drowned ; they quitted it for the arms and ammunition that were lost ; which could not but work some trouble in us to see our men disarmed in a country where we could not go, but must have  
much

much use for them; but to deliver us of this inquietude, God was pleased to dispose of some of us, who left their arms to those that had lost their own.

When we were got clear of these dangers, our guides advised us to row gently, for fear the Indian Spaniards, who were our enemies, should hear us, and who lay in wait to attack us some leagues this side the mouth of the river, in a place called Lestocada. We took their council, and when we were got over against the said place, where the river is very broad, we disposed of our canoes in such a manner, that by the favour of the night they appeared to be much less than they really were. Now these Indian Spaniards having some glimpse of us, asked who was there? and our guides having answered, that what they saw was nought but a few boats belonging to them, with which they were going to fetch salt into the South-Sea; by this wile we were spared the labour of engaging with those rascals.

On the twelfth in the morning we cast anchor, because the tide came in, and was against us, and about ten made ready, but towards noon the heavens were overcast to that degree, that you could scarce see a man from one end to the other; and this was followed with such excessive rains, that we were afraid every minute of being sunk, though we employed two men in each canoe continually to throw out the water; and during that time one of our men died.

The same day at midnight we got to the mouth of the river, and entered into the South-Sea, from whence we made directly for the bay of Boca del Chica to see for the provision which we were told was there, and which we found accordingly; but before this we met with a canoe of captain Grognet that

that waited for us, and two barks at anchor. They had been purposely sent by the English, both to tow our canoes to the place where the fleet of freebooters were, and to bring us more provision.

On the thirteenth in the morning we carried our sick on board the two barks for their better accommodation, and then weighed anchor in order to sail altogether to an island four leagues distant from the mouth of that river, where we refreshed ourselves two days with the provision the English had sent us, which was a mighty comfort to us.

On the sixteenth we went off in order to find out the English and French fleet, whose rendezvous was to cruise either before Panama, or at the King's Islands, which are not far from this river.

We arrived at those islands on the eighteenth, which stand thirty leagues to the east of Panama, where we found the largest of them to look more like the continent than an island, so spacious and mountainous it is. The same is inhabited by those negroes whom they call Marons, or fugitives from the Spaniards, who upon making their escapes from their masters at Panama, and the adjacent places, have made this a place of refuge. This day one of our men died.

We entered into this sea at a very bad time, for about this height, there are some years wherein it rains for every day for the space of six months, and we happened to come thither exactly at such a season.

I should think it would have been proper in this place, before I proceed to give a relation of our adventures, to give a large and exact description of the South-Sea, and this fourth part of the world, with which it is washed, and to set forth the longitude and latitude of the places : but as it is my design to write of nothing but what was transacted by us there,



there, and that this country is well enough discovered by the geographical charts that have been made of it, let the reader, when he has occasion to be informed herein, have recourse to them. I shall content myself with taking notice only, that all the continent that respects the South-Sea, stands east and west, and most of the islands north and south of it; and that it runs from east and south-east to south and south-west; and from the west to west north-west, and to the north-west.

The Spaniards are the only foreigners that possess these countries, since the unjust usurpation they have made of them from the aborigines, over whom they made themselves masters by such tyrannical and cruel methods as have been heard of throughout the world. They have good towns upon the sea side, which reach from the height of the islands of Don Fernandez, that are situated at the mouth of the gulf of Magellan, or rather from Chili, to the middle of a streight that is between the Terra Firma, and the isles of California, which the Spaniards call Marbermejo, through which it is believed a communication may be had between the northern and southern seas, without going about by streight of Anien. The chief of these towns begin from the south, and are Arica, Sagna, Nasca, Pachacama, Lima, Cidade de los Reyes, the port of Callao (which is the place of embarking for this last, and where the king of Spain's ships anchor, that is the fleet of Peru) Truxillo, Paita, Queaquilla, la Barbacoa, which is an open mine, from whence the Spaniards get a great deal of gold, Panama, Realeguo, Tecoantepequa, Acapulco, and several others, that are as well maritime as inland places.

It is about ten years since the Spaniards, who dwell on all this continent, have not known what war

war was. Here they lived in a profound tranquillity, and fire-arms were hardly in any use amongst them : but since the time that we found out a way to go and visit them, they brought the Englishmen from Jamaica amongst them. But though they have a pretty many of them at present there, yet the sequel of this discourse will shew they are not much more warlike than they were before : but the white Indians that inhabit a part of Chili have been always their enemies ; and these are a people of prodigious bulk and tallness, who almost infest them with continual war, and when they happen to take any of them they take off the plate of their breasts, as we do by a tortoise, and cut out their hearts.

On the twenty-second, which was Easter-day, their fleet, who were gone before us into these seas, arrived at the King's Isles where we were ; they consisted of eight sail, which, together with the two barks they had sent to wait for our arrival, made up in all ten vessels ; of which take the following account :

The first served as admiral, and was a frigate carrying thirty-six guns, commanded by one captain David.

The next was instead of vice-admiral, had sixteen guns, and was under the command of one whose name was Sammes.

The third and fourth were two ships commanded by captain Townsley.

The fifth was a ship that could have carried thirty guns, but had none, and was commanded by captain Grognet.

The sixth was a small ship commanded by Brandy.

The seventh and eighth were two long barks commanded by two quarter-masters, with a detachment of men drawn out of the fleet.

And

And the ninth and tenth were the two barks that came to meet us, whercof the one was commanded by Peter Henry, and the other by a quarter-master.

Of all these commanders captain Grognet was the only Frenchman, all the rest being Englishmen, except David, who was a Fleming. As to the whole number of our men, they were computed at about eleven hundred, when they divided into two fleets: it remains therefore now that I should say, according to the information I have received from all that were engaged in this enterprize, how all these ships fell into their hands, by what means, and at what time they came into this sea.

In pursuance therefore to the order before observed, I am to declare that the English were the owners of our admiral, who in the year 1682, on the coast of St. Domingo, surprized a long bark belonging to a French captain, whose name was Tristan, who was then with some of his ship's crew ashore waiting for a fair wind to sail together, to make war upon the Spaniards, by commission from monsieur Povansay, who was then governor of that island. The English, who were superior in strength, drove the French out of the bark, with which they sailed to the isle de la Tortille, whither a great many ships go every year to take in salt. The next thing they did, was to take a Dutch ship, on which they went all on board, and sailed afterwards to the coast of Guinea, where they took several prizes more; but they reserved none of them save the Dutch ship, which served as admiral, and wherein they sailed, when we left the South-Sea, and was supposed to have been a ship belonging to Hamburg.

These English became pirates under the conduct of a captain of their own, and grew so notoriously wicked by a great many odious actions, performed not only towards strangers, but even those of their  
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own nation, when they met with any of them, that to avoid being chased, which they would infallibly have been, they passed from the north to the south-sea, by the streight of Magellan.

They kept company for about eight months with a little frigate of eighteen guns, which they met with there in a short time after their arriyal, and whose crew consisted of English, French, and Flemings: but their good correspondence with the corsair was of no long duration, for happening to have some difference with him, as he was one morning giving the other the good-morrow, according to the English mode, he saw all his crew come upon deck; whereupon the little frigate, who sailed much better than the pirate, came up with him, and having brought all his guns to bear, gave him a broad-side, accompanied with a volley of small shot, and then bore away, having slain the captain and twenty of his men, in whose stead the rest of the crew chose David before-mentioned. That little frigate of sixteen guns got into the South-Sea some time after the other, as also by the same streight of Magellan. I was told by one of the engineers on board her, that she belonged to his royal highness the duke of York, and that under pretence of coming to treat with the Spaniards, she was sent upon no other account than to take a plan of those parts, the situation of the cities and sea-ports. Now captain David meeting with her, made captain Sammes come on board him, and threatened to take him, unless he would go and make war with him; so that finding himself too weak to resist, he chose rather to comply with the pirate than be taken; and these two together took a great many prizes, which, after they had taken out what was for their turn, they burnt.

About a year after, captain Townsley came over land with an hundred and fifteen English into those seas,

seas, and at the King's Islands took two ships laden with provision and other refreshments, whereof I have already spoken, coming from Peru.

About a month after, the captains Grognet and Lescuier went also thither over land with two hundred and seventy men; and who, being informed that the English fleet was before Panama, put ashore one night at Tavoga, an island two leagues off, from whence they discerned a ship on fire, and by break of day they saw the English under sail.

They went on board them, and came to understand, that captain David had taken a ship called the *Saint Rose*, laden with corn and wine, bound from Truxillo for Panama; the president of which last place had sent to him to buy her, and in order thereunto, gave him a meeting at the isles of Pericos, that are a league distance from the port. But instead of sending him the money they had agreed upon for the ship, he sent a fire-ship to burn him; but the same, through the cowardice and ignorance of the commander, spent herself without doing the other any hurt: and this made captain David give the *St. Rose* to Grognet and Lescuier's ships crew, who had already lost their captain.

As for the other five ships commanded by Brandy, Sammes, Peter Henry, and two quarter-masters, they had also been taken from the Spaniards in these seas by the two first frigates, who reserved them for those who came thither over land. But of all our ships, there were none but the first two that had guns; the other eight had none, they having been merchant ships, that had made use of none in the South-Sea, where no body but themselves had sailed a long time. And now having told you what passed before this fleet came together; we shall now proceed to give an account of our adventures since our junction.

OR

On the twenty-fifth of April we took an advice-boat going to the fleet of Peru, which was then at anchor in the port of Callao, that was carrying some packets from Madrid to Panamá, and letters from the vice-roy of Lima, wherein there was an account given how many men of war, fire-ships, and merchant-men, the fleet consisted of; and about what time the same might arrive at Panamá. Next day we examined the commander of the advice-boat, but we could get no particulars out of him, saving, that when he saw himself like to be taken, he had thrown the king of Spain's packets and a casket of jewels overboard.

On the twenty-seventh we put the same questions to the pilot, who, according to the example of his commander, would make no discovery, because they had taken an oath together, rather to lose their lives than to divulge any secret, or to let the said packet fall into the hands of the free-booters. On the 28th two of our men died.

On the evening of the same day, we departed with two-and-twenty canoes manned with five hundred men, in order to go and take la Seppa, which is a small town seven leagues to windward of Panamá; and on the twenty-ninth about ten in the morning we discovered two ships bearing up to us, which when they came near, we found to be two periaugues manned with Greeks, which are a people composed of divers nations, to whom the Spaniards give this name; and who serve them in their wars. These they brought some time before from the North-sea to this coast, to defend them against us, because they look upon them to be better soldiers than themselves. We presently sent out two of our best sailing canoes, manned with twenty men each, to attack them.

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These Greeks, who quickly took us to be really what we were, i. e. free-booters, made no delay to save themselves upon one of those islands that stands on the bay of Panama; but upon their going ashore, they lost one of their periaugues, that split in pieces, and left us the other; then they got upon a rising ground, with their arms, and as much ammunition as they could save, and fought stiffly against us under a flag of defiance. And as the place where we landed was exposed to their fire from the ground where they had posted themselves, and that the ascent on that side where we stood was very difficult, we were forced to take a great round to come at them another way, where we found our passage much easier. At last, after we had fought at least for the space of an hour, we constrained them to flee for shelter in the woods, took two of them prisoners, besides their colours, and found between five-and-thirty slain upon the spot.

We were informed by the two prisoners, that those who had escaped, could not be above an hundred men at most; that we might easily master them if we pleased, there being many wounded amongst them: they also told us, that they had an account at Panama of a reinforcement that was come from the North-sea to the fleet of free-booters: that the president of the town had thereupon sent an advice-boat to Lima, to engage the vice-roy to detain the merchant ships in port till further order, and with all speed to send a fleet of men of war to fight ours, and drive us out of those seas: but the relation given by these two prisoners we could not rely upon, since their party had put up a flag of defiance, they being three times the number of us.

After this advantage, and our rejoicing with the rest of our canoes, we continued to prosecute our design upon la Seppa; but as we were obliged before

fore we could come at it to go about two leagues up a very fine and large river of the same name, and on whose banks they have Vigies centinels always set, we could not choose but be discovered, and find the town alarmed, and ready to defend itself: yet for all that we fell furiously on, and took it with the loss only of one man; but finding no great matter of booty there, because they had saved most of their effects, we returned to our canoes again.

As I shall have frequent occasion to make mention of the word *vigie*, it will not be improper in this place to take notice, that by *vigier* is no other thing meant than to set a centinel upon land or sea, and those persons who are thus set, they call *vigies*. The Spaniards maintain a great number of them; for all their cities, towns, and villages, and even single houses, have persons on purpose, whom they send to all the rising ground round about, and river sides, where they have their horses ready night and day, so that, as soon as they discover an enemy, they hasten to give the Spaniards notice of it, who forthwith prepare themselves not to fight, but to save their effects.

On the first of May we rejoined our ships, who waited for us at a very pretty island, called Sipilla, about a league distant from the mouth of the river la Seppa, which makes up a kind of canal, that forms the bay of Panama, and do, as it were, make a bar all along, that divides the channel into two parts, one to the east and the other to the west. Those pleasures we met with in these parts justly deserve a remembrance, whereof I shall give a little description in this place.

All these islands are so curious and delightful, that they are usually called the gardens of Panama, and with very good reason, seeing all people of note in that city have each of them one of these islands



for themselves, and their houses of pleasure there also, with curious orchards, watered with a great many springs of running waters, adorned and embellished with a wonderful variety of flowers and arbours of jessamine up and down, and full almost of an infinite number of all sorts of the fruits of the country, among whom I have taken particular notice of four of them, which are called Sappota, Sappotilla, Avocata, and las Cayemites.

The first is a fruit almost like unto our pears, of a different size, whose rind is greenish, and contains, in the midst thereof, two kernels of an oval form, appearing pretty polished and sleek, and are each of them, in the largest of these fruits, somewhat bigger than an ordinary nut : when this fruit is ripe it is very soft, and when the paring is taken off, the pulp is of a pure red colour, very sweet, and of an admirable taste.

The second is of the same form as the other, but no bigger than a russet pear : it has an admirable taste, and under the rind is of a whitish colour.

The third is of the same form as our quinces, saving that the rind is greener : this fruit must be fully ripe, and very soft before it becomes good food, and then it is that you find the pulp of it as white as snow. The Spaniards eat it with spoons as we do cream, and indeed the taste thereof is mostly the same.

The fourth is like a large damascen, and very savoury.

Besides these and a great many more, wherewith this country is peculiarly blessed, it produces also a great many of those fruits that are common to Europe, as apricots, pomegranates, goyaves, juniper, cocoa, bananas, figs of Provence, French and Spanish melons, all sorts of oranges, citrons, and lemons, of which I shall give no description, no more than of the

the trees that bear them ; but those who would satisfy their curiosity herein, may do it in reading the History of the Antilles written by monsieur de Rochefort, in the year 1668, who was skilled therein, and gave a very good account of them. All these rich presents of fruits and pure water, of which nature made us an offer in these islands, were a wonderful relief to us, after those fatigues we had undergone in our passage over the continent : to say nothing of the plentiful harvest we had of maize and rice, wherewith we found these islands covered, and which the Spaniards, I believe, did not sow with an intention we should enjoy them. But these same islands that afforded us so many delights, wrought also afterwards some sorrow in us, of which by and by.

On the eighth of May in the morning we sailed away, and passed by the old and new city of Panama ; the old one was that taken by general Morgan in the year 1670, whose churches and houses seemed to us to be finely built, as far as we could judge of them at such a distance ; there is none but the new town that is fortified, being defended with a good wall and several other works, but that is only to the sea-ward. This city is attended with an inconveniency, that as it is situated at the bottom of a bay, and that the sea ebbs very much in this country, great ships are left dry there, if they anchor nearer than a league to the place : we got as nigh it as we could with our colours and streamers loose, and from thence went to anchor at Tavoga, which appeared to us as if it were a little enchanted island, so agreeable and delightful are those houses and gardens that are upon it.

On the ninth we caulked all our ships, and next day sent out our long bark to cruise, in order to give us notice when the Spanish fleet appeared in sight

of us; and on the thirteenth we made choice of those ships that should engage it. Captain David and captain Grognet were to board the Spanish admiral, captain Suam and captain Townsley the vice-admiral, captain Peter Henry and one of Townsley's prizes, the patach; our fire-ship was to keep herself under the quarter of our admiral. Our other ships were to attack the rest of their fleet according to their strength, and our armed periaugues were to keep off the enemies fire-ships.

We heard this day a great many cannon fired at Panama, the cause whereof we could not guess at; and on the fourteenth we put ashore upon this island of Tavoga forty prisoners, who were very cumbersome to us, and then weighed to go wait for the fleet at cape Pin; but this was much out of season, since the fleet, who was willing to spare us this trouble, as well as that of attacking her, was already, without our knowing of it, arrived at Panama; having got in under the covert of one of those pleasant islands, through one of the two channels which I said was formed by them, and which hid them from us while we cruised in the other channel, through which we thought they would have sailed.

As we knew nothing hitherto of this matter, and that, upon the return of our long bark, she told us, she had discovered no ships pass, we went and anchored at King's Islands, where the whole fleet took the usual oath, that we would not wrong one another to the value of a piece of eight, in case God were pleased to give us the victory over the Spaniards. On the seventeenth one of our men died.

On the nineteenth we weighed and anchored between the great island, and those in the east channel, through which we thought the fleet we expected would

would pass. On the twenty-eighth another of our men died. Next day we made ready, and sailed for cape Pin. On the thirty-first we gave chase to two ships whom we lost in the night, and which brought us back, in the pursuit of them, to the little islands of Panama, where we anchored on the first of June; and the same day we surprized two Greeks upon the island, where we had beaten them, when we went to take la Seppa.

On the fourth we sent two canoes to the isle of Sipilla, to endeavour to take some prisoners, that we might learn some news from them. There they took a ship laden with boards, which the Spaniards were carrying to Panama to build two periaugues instead of those we had taken. The men told us, that their fleet was got into Panama on the twelfth of May: that on the thirteenth they fired off a great many guns for joy, and that as soon as they were refreshed, careened, and manned, they would put out to fight us, and would be ready in a short time.

On the seventh at noon, captain Grognet, who had anchored farther from the island than we, gave us a signal, that he descried the Spanish fleet, consisting of seven sail, and this he did by lowering and raising his flag seven times: we also on our part made ready, and, in doubling the point of the island, where we had anchored, we discovered seven great ships coming up towards us, with a bloody flag in the stern, and a royal one on their masts. Now it was that the hopes which our crew had lost, when they understood that the fleet was got into Panama, revived again, and the desire they had to enrich themselves, at the others cost, animated them to that degree, that most of them threw their hats into the sea, as thinking they had the Spaniards already in hold. We put our ships in order, and

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them.

then disputed the wind with them, which was at that time got to the west. About three in the afternoon we all, except captain Grognet, got the weather-gage of them, and he failed, because he waited for the coming up of his canoe from the shore, and cast about twice. Our admiral finding himself to windward of the Spanish vice-admiral, who was separated from his own admiral, gave us the signal to follow him for to board him; in order to which, we lengthened our sprit-sail, but our vice-admiral took in his flag, as a token he would defer the engagement to next morning, hoping that Grognet would get the weather-gage in the night: towards sun-setting the Spanish vice-admiral, who was to leeward of us, saluted us with seven guns without ball, which was answered by our admiral with a whole broadside with ball. But, night coming on, the Spaniards cast anchor, being better acquainted than we with the currents that run between these islands, and they sent a small vessel that carried the lanthorn, to anchor two leagues to leeward of us, in order to amuse and cause us to take false measures; and indeed we lay by all night, that we might next morning be to windward of the lanthorn, which we took to be the whole fleet.

On the eighth early in the morning we discovered our error, and were all of us strangely amazed to find ourselves to leeward of the enemies fleet, except captain Grognet's ship, and that of captain Townsley, and his prize, which were to windward: but it unhappily so fell out, that they were ships without cannon: the Spanish fleet having cast anchor again an hour after sun-rising, we did all we could to get the weather-gage, but their vice-admiral, who had his anchor a peak, and his sails but very slightly furled, quickly plied to the wind, which proving favourable to him, he bore immediately  
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upon our admiral. Our vice-admiral did all he could to come to his assistance, for the Spanish guns had already incommoded him very much; but his coming up obliged the enemies ships to bear off to windward, which we endeavoured to gain all that day, though to no purpose; while the Spaniards in the mean while, under whose cannon we found ourselves, mauled us terribly, and this made our admiral and vice-admiral to keep close together, and to resolve to die valiantly fighting, rather than suffer any one ship of the fleet to be taken, though they could both of them have saved themselves if they pleased, they being much better sailors than the Spaniards.

Captain Townsley, towards the afternoon being to windward of the enemies fleet, sent his periaugue on board our admiral, to receive his orders, while he that commanded it had both his legs shot off by a cannon ball. About two the Spaniards sent out a ship of eight-and-twenty guns to hinder captain Grognet to join us, as understanding by some Spaniards, who had been our prisoners, that he was the strongest in small arms of any in our fleet, and that they were so much the more fearful of him, when they came to know his crew consisted of Frenchmen. At last finding ourselves towards evening much battered with their cannon (for the Spaniards would not come to boarding) we veered by the favour of a gale of wind, to go and board the Spanish vice-admiral, that was the best sailor, and did us most harm: but we were no sooner unmoored, than that the wind came about, which did us much damage, for we were just come upon the enemies ship, who not observing the wind, by which we sailed, bore still upon us so far, that when we returned the second time, she was so near us, that she was constrained to fur the end of her main-sail,

for fear of bringing her fore-mast upon our counter, and this made us put out our canoes, which were upon the towe, that we might go better, and in this manner we defended ourselves till night approached.

Peter Henry's ship, wherein I was, having received above an hundred and twenty cannon shot, was forced to make the best of her way, which our admiral and vice-admiral perceiving, they put their periaugues under sail, which they had all along braced to windward during the fight, in order to attend us, because they saw we were in an ill condition. The enemy, observing our working, sent one of their small ships in pursuit of us, but as we bore back upon her, she gave us eighteen guns, and rejoined their own fleet.

Our long bark having, during the action, been forely handled, her crew was forced to leave her, and, not having time to sink her, threw some guns, which our admiral had put on board her, into the sea, and then saved themselves on board of one of our other ships. Now the Spanish prisoners whom we left behind, finding they were now at liberty, plied to put themselves into the hands of the Spanish admiral, but he, taking this bark for our fire ship, sunk her with his cannon before she came near him, not thinking their own people were on board her.

On the ninth we could see neither our own nor the Spanish fleet, which made us steer for the isle St. John de Cueblo, four-and-twenty leagues to the west of Panama, where, by the favour of an easterly breeze, we arrived on the fourteenth; we ran ourselves presently ashore, and it was high time, for we had all along, from the time of the fight, five feet of water in the hold: we lost no time to put ourselves in a condition to get up again before Panama, that we might know what became of our fleet, about which we were in great pain, which we were  
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put out of on the six-and-twentieth, when we saw them coming to an anchor in the same place where we were, who told us they did not fight any more after our departure from them. That the Spanish fleet, upon the ninth in the evening, had anchored within cannon shot of ours, and that, both the one and the other having made ready on the tenth, the Spaniards sailed away for the port of Panama; that captain David had been hard plying by the Spanish cannon, especially with two shots that carried off half his rudder, but that he had no more than six of his ship's crew wounded, and only one killed; that captain Sammes was no less put to it, that almost all his poop was swept off, that he had received several shots between wind and water, that his mate had his head shot off with a cannon ball, and that he had no more than three men wounded: and that, in short, the other lesser vessels had lost never a man, and had but very few wounded. Here I may truly say, and without exasperating the matter, that it was a strange thing and next to a miracle, that we, who were so few in number, and had such pitiful ships of our own, should be able to bear the fire of, withstand and fight so considerable a fleet, in comparison of our own, consisting of such good ships, and manned so well as that of the Spaniards was, whose admiral was a vessel of seventy guns, though she had but fifty-six mounted, because she was too old. Their vice-admiral had forty, though she was bored to carry sixty guns; she was a very fine ship, and an excellent sailer, but also old. The patach was a vessel of forty guns, though she had no more than eight-and-twenty mounted. The Conserve had eighteen guns, but was built as well as the patach, to carry forty. The other three were almost as big; besides they had the advantage of fire-ships, on board of which they had planted



cannon, to the end that we might not take them to be really what they were; and that so they might come near, and the more easily surprize us, than if we were aware of them.

If we had not wish this fleet, as we were in hopes we should, before they got an addition of strength in Panama; or that we had had but only the wind of them: when we attacked them, I do not question, but things would have appeared with another face than now they did, and that we should have possessed ourselves of their ships to bring us back through the streights with wealth enough to live at ease, which would have freed us all at once, after a continued succession of fatigues and troubles, which we were forced to go through for three years longer, as well in those places, as in our return over land to the North-sea; but divine Providence had otherwise ordered it.

On the twenty-ninth we parted from the Isle of St. John, to the number of three hundred men in five canoes, in order to go and surprize the town of Pueblo Nuevo, that was six leagues off, thinking we should get some provision there, whereof now we began to be in need. Being landed on the thirty-first, we took a centinel, but another escaped, which was the occasion of our being discovered. We were obliged, in order to get at this town, to go up a very fine river two leagues, and to make use of the flowing of the tide for that purpose; before we came at it we found a retrenchment made for its security, but ill guarded. The town is none of the best situated, though it stands upon the river-side, being surrounded every way with marshes: we found neither people nor victuals there, and so we left it on the third of July; and next day as we returned with our canoes to rejoin our fleet we  
gave

gave chase to a bark, which we took, and on the fifth we got to our ships.

The English and we had a difference in the descent we made upon this town, for they being more numerous than we, would take the advantage of us, and be masters of the whole, and that so far, that captain Townsley would have taken captain Grognet's ship away, which captain David had given him, and give him his own for her: but as he found he had to do with men, who, though inferior in number, would not tamely be thus put upon, he was forced to give over his pretensions; yet we finding still that they continued to pretend to the same dominion over us, we separated ourselves from them to the number of an hundred and thirty Frenchmen, without reckoning captain Grognet's crew, who were two hundred more, and, after having banded ourselves apart, we landed upon the island.

One of the chief reasons that made us disagree was their impiety against our religion; for they made no scruple when they got into a church to cut down the arms of a crucifix with their sabres, or to shoot them down with their fuzees and pistols, bruising and maiming the images of the saints with the same weapons in derision to the adoration we Frenchmen paid unto them. And it was chiefly from these horrid disorders, that the Spaniards equally hated us all, as we came to understand by divers of their letters that fell into our hands, which I have got rendered into French, as may be seen by and by.

On the ninth the English weighed, and came to anchor about five or six leagues to leeward of the place where we were building our canoes, to fit up others for themselves in lieu of those they had lost as well as we, during the fight with the Spanish fleet.

fleet. We laid out for trees fit for our purpose, and to that end went into a wood, which in these parts grows near to the sea, of which we chose the largest, which commonly are those trees called Mapou and Acajou, and are withal very tender and easy to be wrought; among them we found some so large, that the single trunk, after being hewn and made hollow, could carry fourscore men.

While we were building our canoes, a centinel, whom we had set on a very high tree growing on the sea-side in our island, as well for discovering, lest the English, who knew we were employed about our canoes, should come to take away our ship, as to observe if any Spanish ship should sail between the main land and the island whereon we were, came to tell us on the fifteenth, that he saw a ship out at sea, steering south-west and by west, which put us presently upon making ready to come up with her: we found her to be a small vessel, commanded by captain Willnet an Englishman, whose crew consisted of forty English and eleven Frenchmen, of whom we had never heard any thing till now: but they told us, they had a long time ago passed over land into these seas, and that lately they had taken a ship laden with corn out of the port of Sansonnat, which is on the continent, and the place of embarking from Guatimala, thirty leagues to the east of the Isle of St. John, and that, going from thence towards the south coast, they understood that the vice-roy of Lima had sent a Spanish fleet on purpose to chace and beat the freebooters, which gave them to understand there were others besides them in these seas; and that upon the good news they were come in quest of us, in order to have a share in taking that fleet, which they believed infallible, but that they understood, when they came before Panama, where they were in hopes to

to meet with us, that the fight was already over, and that we were gone to the Isle of St. John: the other English, who, as I have already said, were gone to anchor about five or six leagues to windward of us, had also sent out a canoe to know what this bark was, which came up with her as soon as we, and this made us very uneasy; for, this bark being laden with provision, those English influenced these new comers so far, that they took them to anchor in the same place where they were, except the eleven Frenchmen, who left them and staid with us.

This island of St. John Cueblo is about twelve leagues in circumference, standing east and west, and north and south, five leagues distant from the main land, and separated by a narrow channel (which is indeed no other than an arm of the sea running in between two lands). It is not inhabited, very mountainous, full of wood, and watered with very fine rivers. It stands in no stead to the Spaniards, besides supplying them with masts for their shipping, which they have here in great abundance. When we stopped upon that island, we were in hopes to have fared well, so well stocked it was with deer, monkies, agoutills, lizards, and banks full of tortoises; but we were deprived of these advantages by two inconveniences we laboured under, the first whereof was, that the English in less than fifteen days had made such a destruction of these tortoises, that but very few of them landed; the other respected our hunting, which, after we had followed for a few days at first, we were bound to decline; for, having staid in this place longer than we designed, we were under a necessity of preserving our powder for fear, should we have spent it, the Spaniards would have been quickly upon us; so that we staid a whole month upon this island to the number of three hundred and thirty men of us,

with

with eating no more than two tortoises in eight-and-forty hours, and in seeking some fruits in the woods wherewith to subsist, and with the eating of which some of us died, as not knowing the nature of them.

There are a sort of serpents upon this island whose stinging is so dangerous, that if any one has not a certain fruit by him, which he is to chew, and presently to apply to the wound, there is no escaping present death for him, as we found by experience by some of our men whom we lost in this manner, and who, in their dying, endured terrible pains through the activity and violence of that fire which this poison kindled in their bodies. The tree, on which this fruit grows, is to be found upon the same place, as well as in the other parts of this country, being, as to its leaves and height, very like unto our almond trees; but its fruit resembles sea chesnuts, though it is of a greyish colour, and of a somewhat bitter taste, enclosing a whitish almond in the midst thereof. It is chewed altogether before the application is made, and is known by no other name than the Serpents-seed.

Here also, about two or three leagues up the country, you have a great many cayemans, which are a kind of crocodiles, that live both in the sea, rivers, and on dry land, and are of that ravenous nature, that some of our men have been devoured by them.

On the seven-and-twentieth the English, who had left us, sent a quarter-master to us to know whether we would join ourselves with them, as supposing they were too weak to go and take the town of Leon, on which they had formed a design. And here we must acknowledge, that extreme misery is so terrible a thing, that it is almost impossible, when an opportunity presents itself of being delivered,

vered, that it should be let slip, notwithstanding all the repugnancy of our reason to the contrary. We had left the English by reason of their impieties, which we could not endure, and now we were ready to comply with the proposals they had made us of rejoining them again. The provision was on their side, and this was a charming bait for people that were ready to perish with hunger. We presently asked them for some victuals; and as we had but one ship, that could not hold us all, that they should give us another, because we were not willing to be dispersed on board their ships as before; but this they would not agree to. In the mean while as we were resolved not to recede herefrom, famine forced thirty of our men to join themselves with the English, as being unable to bear with the fasts we were forced to keep. And on the fourth of August four of our men died.

On the ninth, when we knew the English were gone, we embarked; to the number of an hundred and twenty men, on board five canoes commanded by captain Grognet, and left two hundred on board our ship, and upon the island, whom we ordered to build more canoes, and afterwards to cross over to the continent.

Having made a descent there on the thirteenth, we came to an *hatto*, which is a kind of a farm where the Spaniards breed their cattle; it was in the neighbourhood of a town called St. Jago, which is twenty leagues distant from St. John's Island. The people we found in this *hatto* we made our prisoners, among whom was the master, who shewed and conducted us to take a sugar-plantation in the river of St. Jago, where we were discovered. We sounded our prisoners one after another, in order to know whether they understood any thing of our separation from the English, by  
telling

telling them we came from the North-sea, and that they should shew us where the free-booters were, which they said were come into these seas. They answered, they were gone to St. John's Island to repair the damage the fleet of Peru had done them, together with other circumstances, which we knew better than they, without telling us one word of what had happened between the English and us: hence we conjectured they knew nothing of the matter, and we could have been very well content that all the Spaniards knew as little as they, for fear our disjunction might render them more forward to attack us.

After this intelligence we dispatched away a canoe which we had taken in this river, to carry our men some victuals, which we had found in this hatto, and to acquaint them, that we were going towards Panama, to see whether we might meet with an opportunity of seizing some barks, so that we might get out of St. John's Island; because, as I have already said, our ship was not big enough to hold us, and that, as soon as the canoes were ready, they were to go and take Pueblo Nuevo, in order to get some provision wherewith to subsist till our return.

On the fifteenth we went ashore forty leagues to leeward of Panama, and, though we had no guide, we got by cock-crowing to a very pretty Estancia as they called it, which was a lone house, and where we took fifty prisoners of both sexes. Among these, there was a young man and woman of quality, who promised we should have a ransom for them, whom we carried to the island Ignuana, a league's distance from the great one, and where there is no other but rain water to be had, which stands in the cavities of the rocks.

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We staid for the fore-mentioned ransom till the eight-and-twentieth, when it was duly paid us, and then went off, being first informed, that, about eight leagues to windward, there was a river, wherein were two barks laden with maize, which on the nine-and-twentieth in the morning we boarded and took. From thence we resumed our course to go and rejoin our men in St. John's Island, where we arrived on the third of September. Here they told us, that an hundred of them, whereof ninety-eight were come back, had gone on the five-and-twentieth of the preceding month to Pueblo-Nuevo, as we had ordered them, where they arrived on the seven-and-twentieth; and, though they were discovered by the centinels of the town, they made themselves masters of it, and staid there two days, for all the continual and various attacks made upon them by the Spaniards. That the commander of the place came with a trumpet to speak with them, and asked, why they carried white colours, seeing they were English (so he took them to be) but without satisfying his curiosity in the point, they constrained him to be gone from whence he came. That, eight of them being gone some distance from the place of arms, there were two of the number massacred by an hundred and fifty Spaniards, who seeing so small a company together, bravely fell upon them; but, with all the advantage they had they could not hinder the other six to recover their main-guard, who fought retreating with extraordinary vigour.

On the fourth we put out with six canoes, and an hundred and forty men on board, whereof we detached two to go to the hatto we had taken on the eleventh of August, to look after the ransom of the master, whom we kept prisoner, and with the other four returned to that sugar-plantation in St. Jago, in order to get some sugar-cauldrons, whereof we



we had occasion. There we were informed, that the governor of St. Jago came thither after our departure the first time we took it, with eight hundred men. We staid in this place till the ninth, expecting the answer of a prisoner whom we sent to the governor, and by whom we sent him word, that if he were minded to advance with his eight hundred men, we were ready; but hearing no news of him, we departed thence, after our two canoes had rejoined us; and on the eleventh arrived on board our ships and the two barks at the Island of St. John.

On the fifth we careened our ships and took in water and wood: we would have left this island, had it not been for the continual rains that fell and lasted eighteen days, and such bad weather, that it was impossible for us to appear upon deck, having never seen the sun all this time: and for this reason it is, that the Spaniards call the distance between the bay of Gurgona, and this Island of St. John, The Droppings of the South-Sea. You have but four months of good weather here throughout the year, and they are December, January, February, March; the other eight months are incommoded with great rains, which fall almost without any intermission, and which, besides the bloody flux it brings, is so pernicious, that if a man has been wet with it two or three times, if he do not presently shift himself, it breeds large worms between his skin and his flesh, in form somewhat like unto a quill, and about half a finger long.

The weather clearing up on the fourth of October, we mended our sails, which were almost rotten, and made ready to be gone. And the same day we had one of our men stung in the leg by a serpent, who died of it presently, as not having taken care to provide himself with the remedy we have spoken of.

On the eighth we made ready and sailed for Realeguo, which is both a port and town an hundred and fourscore leagues to the west and by north-west of the Isle of St. John, and two hundred and sixty west of Panama. We had a small south-east wind till the eleventh, and on the twelfth and thirteenth we steered west-north-west, and that evening descried land. On the fourteenth we had a boisterous south wind, which made us take in all our sails, till midnight, and then came a calm till the seventeenth, when towards noon we were surprized with a south-west blast, attended with great rains, which separated us from our two barks: it blew so very hard, that the sea appeared presently very frightful, and put us so to it, that we began to be very apprehensive we should be all cast away; but the weather (as God would have it) proving fair again, we spent the nineteenth to set our vessel in order, as well as to mend our sails with our shirts and drawers, where-with we were already but very indifferently provided. Towards evening we discovered land, and knew it to be the bay of Caldaira, whereof I shall give an account by and by. On the twentieth we sailed in sight of that of Colebra; from thence we had moderate weather, and a south-east wind; and on the one-and-twentieth we got to the height of the Morns which the Spaniards call Papegaya's.

On the twenty-second we found ourselves over-against Realeguo, a place very remarkable for the high mountains that surround it; and especially for a high sulphurous hill that burns continually, and whose smoke reaches a great way; but the tides next night put us twenty leagues to windward of it. On the four-and-twentieth, we put out four canoes with an hundred men in them in order to take some prisoners, that we might receive some information concerning this coast, where we never were before.

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On the twenty-fifth we put to the shore and landed, and, after a march of three hours, came to an habitation, where we surprized the people, who gave us to understand, that the English had taken the town of Leon, and burnt that of Realeguo: that the inhabitants of Legoria, Granada, Sanfonnat, St. Michell, St. Salvador, and Villa-Nueva, which are neighbouring towns to the two fore-mentioned ones, had sent a considerable re-inforcement of men to those of the town of Leon, who yet durst not attack the English, who staid there three whole days: during which time they had sent several messages to these re-inforcements to require them to fight in the Race Savana, which the other still refused, saying, They were not yet all come together, that is, that they were hitherto no more than six to one, and that they staid till they were doubly increased.

On the twenty-sixth one of our quarter-masters, who was a Catalonian by birth, fled to the Spaniards, which hindered us at this time from going to take the town of Granada, of which I shall speak in its due place, for we did not doubt but that he had given them an account of the design we had formed upon that place.

On the twenty-seventh we went on board of our canoes again, and made for the port of Realeguo, where the rendezvous of our ships was to be; we could land no where all along the coast, because the sea breaks with so much violence there, when it is a southerly wind, that it is impossible to come near it. However six of our men swam with a design to fill some casks with water, which we were in want of, but they could not do it, for the Spaniards followed us by land all along the bank, and so it fell out, that one of our men was unfortunately drowned.

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On the first of November we arrived at the Port of Realeguo, where we found our ship at anchor. There are two passages to this port, whereof that to windward is best. It is very narrow, and besides this, has two mornes or little mountains, that form the two points thereof; upon one of which the Spaniards had a design to build a fort. There is a very fine river runs into this haven, that bears the same name with the town. It is safe from any winds, and contains within it five islands that are very good to careen ships in; there are but three leagues from thence up the river before you come at the town. But before we got there with our canoes, we met three very strong retrenchments, that had been made for its security upon the river's side, about a quarter of a league distant one from another, and which the English had half burnt. About a musket shot from the town, the Spaniards had very fine docks, where they build their ships. It is washed with this river, and stands in a very fine country, watered with several other rivulets; and both its churches and houses, though then half burnt, appeared to us to have been beautiful enough. We are also farther to take notice, that that river we have spoken of, has eight arms, by which you may conveniently convey any thing to the villages, sugar-plantations, and hatto's, whereof this country is full, and which belongs to the burghers, as well of this town as of the neighbouring ones, of which Leon, that is not above four leagues off, is situated in a very curious plain. On the second we went to take two of those hatto's, from whence we carried some victuals on board for those who were careening our ships.

On the sixth we departed to the number of an hundred and fifty men, to go and seize the centinels  
of

of the town of Leon, and having surprized them on the eighth, they informed us there were two thousand men in the place, who, yet not trusting to their numbers, had taken all their moveables, and carried them to a place of safety. We returned on board on the ninth, and next day set out to go to a great sugar-plantation, two leagues distant from this city, where we arrived at midnight, but found no soul living there, the people being gone for their security to the town, upon the report that was spread abroad, that we had taken some centinels. But as we were upon our return from this sugar-plantation to go on board again, our van-guard met with a detachment of horse, upon whom they fired, and made them fly; but the captain was made a prisoner, who, upon our questioning of him, told us that he had heard of us a long time since, but not knowing what language we spoke, we had been taken for a company of two hundred and fourscoure mulatos, who were looking out to fight us, knowing we were ashore, and who would be at that sugar-plantation that evening; we asked the captain what they were he had headed, and he answered, they were a troop of horse, who guarded the embarking place belonging to that sugar-plantation, and that the governor of the town, coming to know we were come to the port of Realeguo, had given them orders to retire in such a manner, as gave us to understand that our enemies kept a very good guard, when they had nothing to be afraid of, and that they would draw off as soon as ever they saw us near, and, in effect, we found them to be exactly the very same as represented to us: for surely if they had had but any thing of resolution and courage, being as numerous as they were in respect to us, they could have easily cut us off, as often as we made any descent upon them; and thus many times we found our safety to proceed from

from their cowardice, as much as from our own courage.

On the thirteenth the same company of an hundred and fifty men left our vessels to go to take a borough town three leagues above the city of Realeguo, whose name was Pueblo Viego; we passed through this place, which we found to be quite deserted by its inhabitants, because of the excommunication they had thundered out against themselves.

Some perhaps will be surprized to hear of this extravagant humour, but there is nothing truer than that, when the free-booters have several times taken the same place from them, their prelates, after excommunicating and cursing the same, quit it entirely, and will not bury even their dead whom we killed, as supposing them for the foresaid reason unworthy of christian burial.

On the fourteenth in the morning we arrived at Pueblo Viego, from whence their centinels had discovered us since the thirteenth in the evening, so that we found the enemy retrenched in the great church, and about an hundred and fifty horse upon the place of arms. We presently fell to work, and, after some discharges, we put them to flight, but those that were within the church, held it about half an hour longer, and then made their escape through a door that was behind the vestry, which we had not secured. We staid a day and a half in this place, and carried away all the provisions we could lay hands on upon the horses which we had, and our own backs, and on the sixteenth arrived on board our ship. On the eighteenth we returned to take an Estancia, which was a league and a half from the said town, and the master whom we took prisoner told us, that, the day we went away, six hundred men lay in ambush for us, on the way by which

we were to pass; but that, without knowing it, we had returned by a different road. On the twenty-first we went on board with our prisoner, who promised us some provision for his ransom; and next day we put another prisoner ashore to endeavour to procure it us with all expedition:

On the twenty-fourth came a Spanish officer, who brought us a letter from the vicar-general of the province (and in all appearance) by order of the general of Costa Rica, who sent us word there was a peace made between the crowns of France and Spain for twenty years, and that they were joined together to make war upon the Infidels. That therefore we ought to commit no farther hostilities, and that if we had a mind to return to the North-sea, we might come safely unto them, and have our passage into Europe in his Catholick majesty's galleons: we gave them an answer suitable to their proposal, being well enough acquainted with the evil disposition of the Spaniards towards us, who, by this false pretence, thought to have seduced us to come the more readily among them, who understood the extreme misery we had endured by one of our people, of whom we made mention before, and who ran away to them to be freed from the long fasts he was forced to with us.

On the twenty-fourth we careened our ships, and the next day put thirty prisoners ashore, part of whom we gave their liberty to, and on the twenty-eighth we made ready to return and go in quest of our two barks whom we had appointed to rendezvous at the Isle of St. John de Cueblo, in case we were separated from one another. As we were going out of the port, the Spaniards gave notice by the fires they made all along the coast, what course we steered. On the third of December we found ourselves got above an hundred leagues out at sea, whither

whither a north-east breeze had driven us; we bore again towards land, and on the fifth went ashore; we sent out three canoes, furnished with seventy men, to cross the bay of Colebra, and to endeavour to get some provision along the coast, as also to discharge our ships of so many mouths, there being but too little victuals left for those who remained behind, and who went to the Isle of St. John: for, as to the provision we were able to get together, while we were ashore in the port of Realeguo, there was no great quantity of it, for the Spaniards, knowing of our coming, had carried it up far into the country, whither we durst not go and fetch it with so few men as we had with us, as not being yet sufficiently acquainted with their cowardice.

From Realeguo to Panama there are a great many little ports which you must be well acquainted with before you can find them, for the mouth of them is very obscure, and if you once do miss them, it is absolutely impossible to get ashore along the coast, the sea being there always boisterous, and very high upon the blowing of the least south-east and south-west winds upon it. I have observed this difference betwixt this sea and that of the North, that let the wind be never so violent, as soon as ever it ceases, this sea proves as calm as if it had never blown, whereas in the other, for all the wind is allayed, it continues several days in the same violent agitation as when it blew hard. I have also taken notice, that the windy storms that are formed to leeward, are much more dangerous in the former, than those that come from the windward; but in the other, it is contrary, where a ship generally esteems not herself to be in danger, but from those that arise to windward of her, at leastwise, if the wind be not subject to a very great variation; to which we may add one difference more, that the



South-sea is pacifick enough upon the main, and very turbulent upon the coast, and that of the North is oftentimes very impetuous far out, and almost always calm near the shore.

The South-sea breeds in divers parts of it a very great number of serpents, in colour like spotted marble, and are generally about two feet long; their sting is of so venomous and killing a nature, that, when a man is once stung by them, there is no human remedy that can secure him from a sudden death; and that which is indeed very surprizing in regard to these creatures, is, that when the sea by the boisterousness of its waves throws them upon some bank or other, though they do not go out of the water, yet they no sooner touch the land, but they presently die.

On the ninth, having still kept our course along the coast, we put fifty men in three canoes ashore, to go and take the town of Esparso, which is three leagues from Caldaira, and is the place that serves for a port to it; we took the centinels about the third part of our way, who told us, That, besides the inhabitants of the town, there were five hundred men whom they had sent for, to come to their assistance from Carthage, upon the alarm given them by our two barks that had anchored in this bay, from which they were but just gone. Upon this intelligence we bethought ourselves, considering the smallness of our number, to put off this expedition to another time, and so returned with all speed, but in such want of provision, that we were forced to kill and eat the centinels horses, after four days strict abstinence; and this sort of fasting, which was not the first that we had used, did not prove to be the last neither.

Caldaira is a bay that bears the name of six magazines that stand about three leagues to the east.

east of the mouth of it, and upon the bank of the place of embarking belonging to Esparso: this bay which by some geographers is called Nicoya, is one of the finest ports in the world; though the mouth of it be large, yet, in lieu of that, it is at least twelve leagues within land, and comprehends a great many islands of different sizes within it; there is none but an easterly wind that can hurt it: the bottom of the bay is open, by means of very fine rivers that run into it, and by which you may ascend to several villages, hatto's, and sugar-plantations, whereof this country is full. You may choose your place of anchorage, according to the length of the cable, that is, from six fathom; encreasing to an hundred; and the bottom is very good: I forgot to observe that the six magazines of Caldaia, whereof I have spoken, were partly built by the inhabitants of Carthage, who make use of that for their port, for facilitating the traffick they drive with those living on the coast of Peru, before we came to terrify them.

Having on the tenth gone on board our canoes, we went to a great bananery that stood in the same bay; it is a set of fruit-trees which they call bananiers, and the fruit thereof bananes, with which we loaded our canoes for our subsistence. As we went ashore, we took the centinel of the little town of Nicoya, from which finding ourselves at some distance, we did not then think fit to go up to it, and so we directed our course for Point Borica, where we arrived on the fourteenth: That is a very pleasant and delightful place, and, among other things, we could not but admire a walk consisting of five rows of cocoa-trees that run along the bank for above fifteen leagues in length, and that in so orderly a manner, that though the same be no more than the bare work of nature, without any additional help

from art, they seem as if they had been all planted on a line.

This fruit, which upon several occasions was so delightful to us, grows upon the stock of a tree, that is a kind of palm, twenty or five-and-twenty feet high: it is like a nut, but without making any comparison of the bigness of it, for there are some of these fruits that weigh twelve or fifteen pounds. The shell is very hard, and thick enough; it is wrapped up in a kind of thick covering, made up all of filaments, with which the Spaniards use to caulker their ships, it being much better than tow, which rots in the water in less than a year's time, whereas the other is fed by it and waxeth green. If you bore an hole in this nut, there runs out a quantity of greenish liquor, which somewhat resembles the colour of whey, but of a sharpish taste, and pleasant enough, and when the shell is broken, we find under it a kernel, or what is equivalent thereto, of the thickness of a man's finger, very white and nourishing, which sticks very close to the inside. We left this place on the twentieth, keeping our course still all along the continent.

On the twenty-second, having no victuals to eat, we put sixty men in our three canoes ashore to go seek some for us, and after travelling the space of a league, we took a very curious hatto, with two prisoners, who told us we were within a league and a half of the little town of Chiriquita, and that there were six hundred men in it, which made us seize with all expedition upon as much victuals as we could, to carry it to the place where we had left our canoes; but, in our return thither, we found four hundred horse in the way, whom we fought with all along retreating, till we came to the sea-side. They challenged us again and again, and defied us in threatening language to go to their town, which  
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we did not fail to do some days after. In the mean time we bore away for the Isle of St. John, where arriving on the first of January, 1686, we found our ship and two barks at anchor.

### C H A P. III.

*The Free-booters voyage to the South-sea in 1686.*

ON the fifth of January, in the new year, we parted to the number of two hundred and thirty men in eight canoes, to go and face the towns-men of Chiriquita, and to give them the visit they had defied us to do. And so it was, that this Island of St. John being about twenty leagues from them, we went ashore on the sixth, about ten or eleven o'clock at night, without being discovered; but as we had no guide with us, we marched on till daylight without seeing any body. We hid ourselves on the seventh all the day in a wood, but as soon as night approached, we came out and put on, without discovering any body, till the eighth in the morning, when we concealed ourselves again in another small wood, and spent all the day in that place, during which time we came to know that we had mistaken our measures, by going ashore on that side of the river, whereas we should have gone on the other. This was cold comfort to people so fatigued as we were; however as soon as it was night, we made no more ado than to return to our canoes, wherein we passed that river: when we were got on the other side, we took the town-watch, by whom we were informed, that the Spaniards had conveyed away all their effects upon our being at their hatto's.

On the ninth we got to Chiriquita two hours before day; we surprized all the inhabitants, who were for two days at variance with one another about

going the rounds; and, after we had secured our prisoners, we told them, that belonged to us, and that we were come to spare them the labour: we surprized also their court of guard, where they were at play, and as soon as they saw us amongst them, they flew to their arms to defend themselves, but as it was a little too late, we eased them of that trouble also. Of them we learned that there was a small frigate up the river, which having touched in going out upon a bank of sand, that lay at the mouth thereof, was forced to go back, and so put the provision, which was her lading, ashore. About two in the afternoon we perceived some Spaniards in a house at some distance from the town, which made us send five of our number to fetch them out; but when we drew near, those whom we had seen, having shewed themselves for no other purpose than to draw us out, disappeared, and presently about an hundred ~~and~~ twenty more came out of a little nook, where they had concealed themselves, and beset us in such a manner, that, finding no likelihood of escaping, we resolved never to be taken alive, but to sell our lives as dear as we could; to which end we immediately stood back to back, that we might face the enemy every way, and in this posture we fought them above an hour and a half; at the expiration whereof, there being no more than two of us in a condition to fight, God was pleased that some of our men who were upon the guard should come to our relief, being driven thither by the firings; for they thought, before they heard these cries, that we were exercising ourselves in shooting at a mark. When the enemy saw this reinforcement come, they made such haste to go away that it was impossible to overtake them. This succour, coming in so seasonably, did infallibly save our lives; for the enemy having already killed us two

men,

men, and disabled another, it was impossible we should hold out against such a shower of bullets as were poured in upon us from all sides. And so I may truly say, I escaped a scouring, and that without receiving as much as one wound, but by a visible hand of protection from heaven. The Spaniards left thirty dead upon the spot, and thus we defended ourselves as desperate men, and to say all in a word, like Free-booters.

We burnt all the houses in the town this day, lest, under the covert of them, our centinels might be surprized, and that the enemy might come to insult us in the night: when we had so done, we retired into the great church, where they durst not come to attack us, but contented themselves to give us some musket-shot from time to time, and that from a great distance.

Chiriquita is a small town that stands in a plain of Savanas, from whence the sight is bounded almost every way with no other than small, but very pleasant thickets: there are several rivulets that traverse it in divers places, and afterward gently glide into these Savanas to water them. It is surrounded with a great many hatto's, and they drive no other trade, but in tallow and leather: the port or embarking place belonging to it is on a pretty large river, from whence you must ascend about a league to come at it. There is but one way to come in at its mouth, and the Spaniards themselves without a buoy will not venture to enter it; there are three leagues by land from this embarking place to the town, and that through so pleasant a way, that none but such as we were could be weary of it, who had no other thoughts than to get victuals to satisfy our hunger, which bore hard upon us, when we were going to take this town, having eaten nothing from the fifth, when we left our vessels, till the ninth, that we took it.

On the tenth we left the place, taking our prisoners along with us, to wait for the ransoming of them upon an island that is within the same river, making choice rather of these places for that purpose, than of the continent, and where being obliged for a long time to stay for the money, we should give the Spaniards thereby an opportunity to gather all their forces together, and to pay us all at once, by overpowering us with numbers; whereas these islands to which they could not come any other way than in shallops, and that openly, put us out of care to embark according to the measures they took by land. When therefore we returned to our canoes, which waited for us at the port of Chiriquita, we found the inhabitants of that town had laid an ambuscade for us, but we beat them off, and, after the enemy had quite retired, they sent us a person to demand their prisoners, whom they said they would recover, or perish in the attempt. We told the messenger we were very ready to give them up, if they would come and meet us in the race Savana to take them, and that, if they fired one single bullet at us, they should have no quarter, which so humbled their pride, that we saw no more of them.

As soon as we were got to the forementioned island we sent part of our canoes, to look after the cargo of the small frigate which the Spaniards of Chiriquita gave us information of, where they found above an hundred men intrenched; but they could not hinder our men from possessing themselves of what they went in search for. Among the baggage they found some letters, that, among other things, gave us to understand, that the admiral of the Peru fleet, who was returned to Lima, had been burnt, with all her crew, which was at that time four hundred men, by a thunderbolt; and this was so much the more surprizing and admirable, that no man living could remember

remember to have heard any thunder in that country, no more than to have seen it rain.

On the sixteenth the ransom for our prisoners came, and after we had set them at liberty, we returned aboard our ship, which rid then at anchor at St. John's island. On the twentieth we concluded among ourselves, it was necessary we should build large periaugues, seeing we could make no farther use of our ship for want of sails, and we had nothing left to make them with, and still were less able to take ships from the Spaniards, on this western coast, where they had put an entire stop to their navigation, since we were come thither. On the twenty-second we made choice of tall trees to make our canoes and periaugues of, upon the banks of a curious river which we knew to be in the island.

On the twenty-seventh we descried seven sail of ships out at sea, which made us fit out five canoes to go and see what they were, and, as we doubled one of the points of the island, we discerned twelve periaugues and three long barks, who coasted it all along. We took them presently to be the fleet of Peru that was come in quest of us; we gave our men notice of it without delay, and at the same time resolved to put all we had on board our ship into our bark, and to go into that river where our docks were, there to wait the coming of our enemy, where they could not come to attack us without losing a great many men. This project we put forthwith in execution, and after we had abandoned our ship, which could not be brought into that river, we ran her ashore, lest the Spaniards should have any benefit of it, and put her into a sailing condition, being very well assured of ourselves, that they did not want sails, as we did, for that purpose.

On the twenty-eighth our centinels came to give us notice, that six periaugues plyed along the shore,

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which made us at the same time put an hundred and fifty men to lie in ambush on both sides the river, and then we set out with two of our canoes, from whence, after we had seen them, we feigned to go away, by going back, to engage them to give us chase; but they, suspecting a stratagem in the case, bore directly upon our ship that was run aground, upon which they fired very furiously, though there was none left within it but only a poor cat, which they perceiving, they bravely boarded; and burnt her for the sake of the iron-work that belonged to her, which is a commodity as rare as it is dear in some parts of Peru. On the first of February the Spanish fleet sailed away, and left us at ease to finish our work, upon which we spent the remainder of the month.

We understood afterwards that the admiral of this fleet had orders to put some field-pieces ashore, to demolish those fortifications which they thought we had made upon the island; being induced to believe it was so by the report of the prisoners, which we sent them, made of our intentions; we, to impose upon them, having asked whether there were any masons among them that could do our work, and sometimes obliged them to give us brick for their ransom, though we had no need of them. There were no less than fourteen of our men died in the month of February.

On the fourteenth of March we departed from the Isle of St. John with our two barks, an half galley of forty oars, ten great periaugues; and ten small canoes, all built of mapou timber, except our two barks: we gained the windward point of the island, to take a review of our men, and found ourselves weaker by no less than thirty persons, since our separation from the English: but we formed a design anew at the same time which had been put by  
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for above four months, which was to go and take the town of Granada, distant now from us about two hundred leagues. To effect this work, it was necessary we should be furnished with provision wherewith to subsist us during the voyage; and we having none, this made us send away our half galley and four capoes, to seek for some at Pueblo Nuevo, while the rest of the company went to tarry for us at the isle of St. Peter, which is two leagues to windward of the river Chiriquita, and to finish somewhat that was still wanting to the complete equipment of our canoes.

On the sixth of April, about three hours before daylight, we were got near to the river of Pueblo Nuevo, and by a clear light of the moon we discerned a small frigate at its mouth, as also a long bark, and a periaugue. We came within pistol-shot of them as supposing them to be our English freebooters, from whom we had separated. But we found ourselves quickly mistaken, for, after we had hailed them, they answered us with an intire volley of great and small shot, which made us now conjecture that they were, and it was too true, a detachment left by the Spanish fleet in that place, when they left us at St. John's island, as a guard to two small ships, which we knew they were lading with provisions at the port of this town, in order to transport the same to Panama. Our mistake was the reason that we had twenty men disabled to fight, by this first discharge of the enemy, before we knew well where we were; but, after we were a little recovered of the surprize this adventure put us to, we fought them stiffly for the space of two hours, though we had the use of no other arms than our fuzees, and not one cannon to discharge upon them; and they, on their part, defended themselves so much the more vigorously, in that they believed we,

we, after such a surprize as we had been exposed to, would quickly slacken our courage, and give way. They did all they could to make ready during the fight, but we hindered them, and no man could appear in the shrouds, but we brought them down, as well as their grenadiers, from their round tops. But, finding the light of the moon now gone, we put off out of the reach of their cannon, as well to take care of our wounded men, which amounted to thirty-three, besides four who were killed outright, as to wait for daylight, in order to terminate this affair, which we were not willing to leave undecided. But the enemy did in the mean time retire under the covert of a retrenchment which, I have said already, they had upon the banks of this river, where the country people, who had heard the noise of the fight in the night, were also come, which made us conclude, that, if we went to attack them in that place, we could not have that advantage there, we had resolved to take of them ; so upon approach of day we steered our course to go and rejoin our canoes at the isle of St. Peter, where we arrived on the eighth.

On the ninth we found ourselves in great want of victuals, having now nothing at all to eat ; and this put us hard to it, more especially our wounded men, whom we sent by our half galley (for their better conveniency) on board our two barks, whom we had appointed to rendezvouz in the bay of Boca del Toro. When this was done, we went ashore to a town ten leagues to leeward of Chiriquita, where finding none, we left it, and on the eleventh, in our return to our canoes, we found, in order to strengthen us under the languishment which hunger had reduced us to, a regale of an ambuscade of five hundred men laid for us, against whom, for all our weakness, we made so good a defence, that we obliged them to leave us free

free passage, but yet not without the loss of two of our men. We went on board in the evening, to go join our barks in the bay of Boca del Toro, where we arrived the thirteenth, and went ashore, spending our time to the sixteenth in hunting, more especially for the subsistence of our wounded men; and here we found the same sort of deer and birds, as I have taken notice of in our passage over the continent, in great plenty.

On the same day we departed for the bay of Cal-daira, after having renewed our enterprize upon the little town of Esparso, of which I have already spoken. On the 19th, being arrived in the bay, we went ashore two hours before daylight, and reached the town; about eleven in the morning we found the place was in a manner intirely abandoned from the time we had taken the centinels, who, as I have already observed, diverted us from going thither, by the account they gave of the reinforcement that was come to them from Carthage: however, we took some prisoners, who told us all the people were retired to this last town, which is twenty-four leagues off; so that, finding our endeavours all frustrated, we returned on the twentieth to the sea-side, to re-join our canoes.

Esparso is reckoned to be three leagues distant from the sea-side, and the way thither very bad; you cannot travel the length of a gun-shot in even ground, but the same is every-where rugged, and full of little mountains and hills, though beyond them the country appears to be very good and delightful. The town is built upon an eminence, from whence one may easily see all that comes in and goes out of the bay: this town is in a manner encompassed with a rivulet that runs round it: between it and Carthage are very curious plains, with royal ways made through them, and that as well as any in Europe.

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On the twenty-first we victualled ourselves with the fruit of a bananery in this bay, wherein our two barks came to join us, and next day we summoned our people ashore upon this island, as well to consult how we should attack the town of Granada, which we had a design upon, as to take an account of what powder they had, as fearing many of them might use it in hunting: here we enacted orders whereby those were condemned to lose their share of the booty got in the place, that should be found guilty of cowardice, violence, drunkenness, disobedience, theft, and straggling from the main body without orders. When this was over, we left the bay the same evening, and a strong easterly wind surprizing us in the night, separated our vessels from one another: at break of day we told thirteen sail, wherewith we were amazed, knowing we had no more than a dozen, and this made us give our canoes the signal to chace, as well as we, that vessel that did not belong to us; but, when we had continued the chace for about an hour's time, we perceived five more; and having come up with the foremost, we understood it was captain Townsley come from the coast of Acapulao: he had left his ship at the cape, over-against the mouth of the bay, where we had been, and went with his five canoes to find out some bananes, having very little provision on board. He told us that captain David, with his fleet, was on the southern coast, and that captain Suams, with his ship, was gone to the East-Indies.

We, finding ourselves now to be the stronger party, called to mind their former imperious dealings with us, and, to shew our resentment of it, we made him and his men, who were in the other four canoes, prisoners: we boarded his vessel immediately, of which having made ourselves masters, we made a sham of taking it away; but our design being only

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to frighten them, we left them for some time under the apprehensions of the danger they were in. Then we let the captain know we were honest men than he, and that, though we had the upper hand, yet we would not take the advantage of revenging the injuries they had done us, and that we would put him and his men in possession of what we had taken from them four or five hours before. This moderation which we exercised towards them, together with their being informed by some of our crew of a design we had upon the town of Granada, engaged them to desire we would take them in to be our associates in the enterprize; and, they being an hundred and fifteen in number, we readily consented to such a reinforcement as must needs be useful to us.

On the twenty-fifth we departed all together, French and English, in our periaugues and canoes, leaving their ships and our two barks under the covert of Cape Blanck, which is twenty leagues to windward of the place where we were to go ashore, and gave orders to those who were appointed to guard them, to sail away six days after, and to coast it till they came to an anchor at the place where we should leave our canoes.

On the seventh of April we went ashore on a flat coast, to the number of three hundred and forty-five men, under the conduct of a very good guide, who led us cross a wood that we might not be discovered. We marched on night and day till the ninth, but, notwithstanding all the precaution we took, we could not hinder our being discovered by the inhabitants of the town of Granada, who were fishing in a river about fifteen leagues off; and, though they made all the haste they could to advertise the Spaniards of our march, they could not have been there time enough to have given the people notice to remove all  
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their effects, considering the expedition we used to follow them, had not they had (unhappily upon our account) notice given them of us three weeks before by the inhabitants of Esparso, who having seen the great number of canoes we had, as we passed by there, grew suspicious of our design.

The fatigue we had undergone during our march, together with the sharp hunger that pressed us, obliged us to halt and rest the ninth in the evening, in a great sugar-plantation, that is about four leagues distant from Granada, and was in our way thither. It belonged to a knight of St. James's, whom, upon our arrival, we failed to take prisoner, our legs being at that time much more disposed to rest, than to run after him. On the tenth we set out, and, upon our approach near the town, we observed an eminence above it about a league off, and two ships upon the lake of Nicaragua, that carried, as we were since informed, all the wealth of the town into an island two leagues off. We took a prisoner in a village that was in our way, who told us the inhabitants of the town had intrenched themselves upon the place of arms, and compassed it with a strong wall, since our quarter-master, who had run away to them, had given information, that we designed to come amongst them: he told us farther, that that place was guarded with fourteen pieces of cannon, and six patereroes; and lastly, that they had detached six troops of horse to attack our rear, while our front should be engaged with the Spaniards, if so be we should come up to them.

This information, which doubtless would have terrified any other but free booters, did not retard our design one minute, nor hinder us. About two in the afternoon of the same day we came up to the town, where, at one entrance into the suburbs, we met with a strong party lying in ambush for us, whom,

whom, after an hour's engagement, we fell with that fury on, that we made our way over all their bellies, with the loss only of one man on our own side, and from thence entered the town, where we made an halt to wait for the answer of several of our company, whom we had detached to go round, and take observation of a fort which we saw in a direct line from the street by which we entered. Presently after came a party to inform us, that it was a square fort, and that, besides the street we were in, they had also observed three more, that looked out to the other three sides of that fort, by which the enemy could discover whatever came towards them through those avenues, which were, moreover, all commanded by their cannon and small arms.

We were not long in debate what we should do; we could easily see we were too few to make our attacks by those different ways all at a time. Wherefore, after we had got together all those whom we had sent out to scout, who, for some time, had been detained by some light skirmishes, we made ourselves ready to fall on through that street alone where we then were; and it is well we did so, for if we had dispersed ourselves through the others, the horse, which were in the rear of us, and observed our motion, would not have failed to hem us in, which they durst not do while we kept all together.

After we had exhorted one another to fall on bravely, we advanced a round place towards the said fortification: as soon as the defendants saw us within a good cannon-shot of them, they fired furiously upon us; but observing, that, at every discharge of their great guns, we saluted them down to the ground, in order to let their shot fly over us, they bethought themselves of false priming them, to the end we might raise our bodies after the sham was over, and so be really surprized with their true firing.



firing. As soon as we discovered this stratagem, we ranged ourselves along the houses; and having got upon a little ascent, which was a garden-plat, we fired upon them from thence so openly for an hour and a half, that they were obliged to quit the ground, to which our hardy boys, who were got to the foot of their walls, contributed yet even more than the other, by pouring in hand granadoes incessantly upon them, so that at last they betook themselves to the great church, or tower; but they wounded us some men: as soon as our people, who had got upon the same eminence, perceived that the enemy fled, they called to us to jump over the walls, which we had no sooner done, but they followed us: and thus it was that we made ourselves masters of their place of arms, and consequently of the town, from whence they fled, after having lost a great many men. We had on our side but four men killed, and eight wounded, which, in truth, was very cheap: when we got into the fort, we found it to be a place capable of containing six thousand fighting men; it was encompassed with a wall, the same as our prisoners gave us an account of. It was pierced with many holes, to do execution upon the assailants, and was well stored with arms. That part of it which looked towards the street, through which we attacked it, was defended by two pieces of cannon, and four patereroes, to say nothing of several other places made too open in the wall, through which they thrust instruments made on purpose, to break the legs of those that should be so adventurous as to come near it; but these, by the help of our grenadiers, we rendered useless to them. After we had sung *Te Deum* in the great church, and set four centinels in the tower, we fixed our court of guard in the strong built houses, that are also enclosed within the place of arms, and there gathered

gathered all the ammunition we could get: then we went to visit the houses, wherein we found nothing but a few goods, and some provision, which we carried into our court of guard.

Next day in the evening we detached a party of an hundred and fifty men, to go and find out some women that we might put them to ransom, and some booty which we were told they had in the sugar-plantation a league off of the city: but they were gone by the time we got thither, as not believing themselves safe in that place, so that our party came back *re infecta*. The same day we sent a prisoner to the Spaniards, to require them to ransom the town, or else we would burn it; whereupon they sent a monk to treat with us, who said the officers and inhabitants were in consultation about it, but that one of our men whom they had taken as he lagged behind, through weariness upon the road, without the officer, that brought up our rear, having taken notice of it, assured them we would not burn it, because our design was to pass some months after to the North-sea, by the lake there, and to furnish ourselves in this town with necessaries for our journey, which we should not meet with if we fired the place: so that the said man having given them such assurance, they would no longer trouble themselves about giving an answer to the proposal we had made for their ransoming the town, which at last constrained some of us to set fire to the houses, out of mere spight and revenge.

The opportunity, which now offered itself unto us of passing through the lake to the North-sea, was not at this time over favourable, and we should not have failed to make use of it, if we had had canoes ready in this place to go and take two ships, and the wealth of the town, which the inhabitants had carried, for the better securing of them, into the island,

island, which I have already said was in the said lake ; which would have put a full end unto the trouble we had been in from the time we failed of seizing the flota before Panama ; but the term of dangers and miseries, which our destiny had still in store for us, being not yet come, we could not take the advantage of so favourable an opportunity to get out of those parts of the world, which, though very charming and agreeable to those who are settled there, yet did not appear to be so to an handful of men, as we were, without shipping, the most part of our time without victuals, and wandering amidst a multitude of enemies, against whom we were obliged to be continually upon our guard, and who did all that in them lay to deprive us of subsistence.

Granada is a large and spacious town, situated in a bottom, inclined to the coast of the South-sea, whose churches are very stately, and houses well enough built : they have several religious houses there, both of men and women : the great church stands at one of the ends of the place of arms ; the country thereabouts is very destitute of water, they having no other there than only the lake of Nicaragua, upon the side whereof the city is built, and round about which you may see a great many fine sugar-plantations, which are more like so many villages, than single houses, and, among the rest, is that belonging to the knight of St. James's, where we lay in our march to the town, where there is a very pretty and rich church.

On the tenth we left the city, and took along with us one piece of cannon, with four patereroes, as not questioning but we should meet with opposition in our way, before we came to the sea-side, from which we were near twenty leagues distant, and therein we were not deceived ; seeing the Spa-

niards waited for us, to the number of two thousand five hundred men, within a quarter of a league of the town, and presently charged us: but, not dreaming that we had brought any of their artillery along with us, they were so terrified when we had fired two cannon-shot upon their first ambuscade, that they left us a free passage in this place only; for, though they saw a great many of their men sprawling upon the ground, they ceased not all the way at certain distances to lay new ambushes for us, where they had no more success than at first. We took one of them prisoners, who told us, there was a million and a half of pieces of eight long since ordered for the ransoming of their town, in case the same should be taken, and that the same was buried in the wall, so as that it could not be seen: but we had no inclination to go back in search of this money, seeing we found difficulty enough to rid ourselves out of the hands of so considerable a number of enemies as we had already to deal with.

We were forced that evening to leave our cannon behind us, after we had first nailed them up, for the oxen that drew them were dead for want of water, having travelled several leagues through very great heats, without one drop of water, and through such a dust, as choaked both man and beast. But we reserved our patereroes which were carried by mules, who could better bear this inconveniency. At last we lay in a very pretty village, called Massaya, that stands upon the side of the lake, but from hence to the water there is so great a descent, that a man of full growth appears to be no bigger than a child: we were received by the Indians in this place with open arms, but the Spaniards that had retired thither, knowing the extreme thirst wherewith we were afflicted, had spoiled all the water that was in the village, hoping thereby to reduce us  
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to such necessity, that we might go by night to drink to the lake, that so they might lay some ambush for us: but these Indians, that came to meet and pray us not to burn their village, remedied this evil, in assuring us, they would supply us with whatever we had occasion for, as long as we staid there, and particularly with water. Taken with this their submission, we granted them their request so much the more willingly, seeing they gave us to understand upon several occasions, that they were more our friends, than they were the Spaniards.

All these Indians are a miserable people, whom the Spaniards endeavour to reduce and bring under their subjection by little and little, with a feigned gentleness practised towards them, to make them forgetful of those cruelties and tyrannies they had heretofore exercised in those parts, and which they are not wanting still to keep in remembrance. They have, at present, a pretty number of them there, whom they have enticed down from those mountains where they had taken refuge, and brought them to submit in this manner. They have given them places to build boroughs and villages upon, but all their labour redounds to the advantage of the Spaniards; so that, being used as slaves by them, they are so weary of their dominion, and the barbarity shewed them, by being made use of as pallisadoes by the Spaniards when they fight us, that if we had been people fit to receive them, as often as they made an offer to take our parts, we should have formed a very considerable army; and it is certain, that, if they had but arms and protection, they would have infallibly shaken off the yoke of their pitiful masters, being three times more in number than they.

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We rested only one day in this place to refresh our wounded men, where two died of the cramp, which contracted all their nerves; this is so malignant a distemper in this country, that, when it seizes upon a stranger that is wounded, it will certainly kill him: this same day came a father to us from the Spaniards, to redemand another father from us, who was one of our prisoners, who had taken up arms against us, and had his pockets full of poisoned bullets: we required in exchange for him one of our men, whom they had taken, which they would by no means agree to; so that we carried the latter along with us as far as the sea-side.

On the seventeenth we left this borough, and lay in another place three leagues beyond it, from whence we passed next day, and, as we came out of a forest to enter into a plain, we discovered five hundred men upon an ascent, waiting for our coming, commanded by the above-mentioned Catalonian quarter-master that had deserted us: they had put up bloody colours, to signify they would give no quarter, which obliged us to lay by our white colours, and display our red as well as they. We marched directly to the place where they were without stopping, though they fired very thick upon us, and, when we came within musket-shot, we detached our van-guard to beat them off their ground, which they did with wonderful bravery; here we took about fifty horses: the enemy, in their flight, cowardly left part of their arms behind them, besides their dead and wounded men, by which last we understood that these people were the reinforcement which the inhabitants of the town of Leon had sent to the assistance of Granada against us, and who were returned home.

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After we had rested about an hour, we continued our march and lay at a little town which the inhabitants had forsaken. On the nineteenth we lay in a hatto, and the next day in an Estancia, where we rested some days to refresh ourselves, and to salt our provisions to carry on board our ships, where we knew very well there could be no victuals left. I always went before with an advanced party of fifty men, to go and inform those who looked after our vessels with our return. On the twenty-sixth the rest of our men came to the sea-side, where we re-imbarked all together, and understood that four of our men, wounded in the fight at Pueblo Viego, were dead, but more for want of sustenance than their wounds.

On the twenty-seventh we sailed for Realeguo, and on the twenty-eighth anchored in that port, where, upon our going ashore, the centinels of Pueblo Viego discovered us, but that did not hinder us to proceed and arrive at the place about noon: the Spaniards, who had heard of our coming, fled every-where; but the heats are so excessive in these parts, that you cannot travel there this time of day; and this made us go and see rather for some shade or tufts of grafs whereon to set our feet, than to run after the enemy: however we took some prisoners. We tarried there but two days, and after we had gathered as much provision as we could find in the houses, we sent out a party to see for some horses, whereof they brought us an hundred; we departed on the first of May, and carried our provision to the river-side at Realeguo, where our canoes were, who carried the same afterwards on board our ships, while we went out to seek for more, that so we might get together a good quantity, and not be obliged to consume it as we brought it in.

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On the second we went to a sugar-plantation to fetch off six cauldrons, which we brought away next day, and on the fourth set out for a borough two leagues from Realeguo, which they call Ginandego, which some of the inhabitants a few days before prayed us by way of raillery to go and visit, as thinking themselves sufficiently secured by a retrenchment cast up at the avenue leading to it, and that was defended by two hundred men : we got thither on the fifth, by break of day ; but, being discovered by the centinel, he carried the Spaniards notice thereof, whic gave us no occasion to desire them to quit it, after they had given us a few musquet-shot ; so that, to punish their rhodomontades, we burnt the place down to the ground : we took one of their people prisoner, by whom we understood that the corregidor of Leon, who was very desirous to drive us away from that coast, had ordered all the Tements, as soon as we got to any place, to burn all the provision they had, which to our sorrow was but too well executed, not only here, but every-where else, and was the cause also of that hunger and extraordinary toil which we were forced to endure in these seas, as long as we staid there.

The same day about noon came about eight hundred men into a Savana from Leon to fight us ; the centinels, which we had placed on the top of the steeple, rung the alarum-bell to give us notice to get together, and come out of the houses where we were dispersed ; whereupon we marched in a body of an hundred and fifty men, with red colours, to fight them ; but as they could not endure to let us come within musquet-shot of them, for they fled without any more ado, we were obliged to retire, and on the sixth went away to go on board our ships, which we careened next day, as we also cleaned our canoes.



On the ninth we had a consultation together, about what way we should take, and here we found ourselves of two opinions; one party was for going up before Panama, being in hopes they had begun their navigation again, as knowing we were far enough from them; but the rest represented, that many times they had such years on that coast, whereof that might be one of them, that eight months thereof was sad weather, in respect to excessive rains and southerly winds which reign there, and that therefore it would be more adviseable to go lower westward, and winter upon some island or other, and there to wait for fair weather.

Now these different sentiments were pursued by us, and, every man having made choice of his side, next day our surgeons had orders to give in an account of those among the wounded, who were crippled, to the end we might make them satisfaction before we divided. They told us we had four men crippled, and six hurt, to which we gave six hundred pieces of eight a man, and a thousand to those that were crippled, as it was our constant custom in those seas; and it was exactly all the money we had got together, that was applied to that use: we made a division of the barks and canoes on the twelfth, and found ourselves to be an hundred and forty-eight French men, ready to go up towards Panama (without comprehending the English under captain Townsley) and the same number of French sailed also to the westward. Next day our provision was shared amongst us, and now it was that we divided into two parts; those who were for the westward put themselves under the conduct of captain Grognet, and we, that were bound for Panama, were commanded by captain Townsley, and then we went to anchor at an island, half a league distant from that we left, to take in water  
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and wood : on the sixteenth captain Grognet sent his quarter-master to desire us to put none of our prisoners ashore, for fear they should give the Spaniards notice of our separation, for, as he had a design to make a descent upon them, he was apprehensive that such a discovery would make them more resolute and hardy to oppose them.

On the nineteenth we made ready, and sailed for Panama with captain Townsley's ship and one bark : we steered E. S. E. to S. S. E. and to S. S. W. till midnight, when we were overtaken with a storm, which made us lie by till the twentieth at noon, when the weather proved fair, then we steered E. S. E. to the twenty-third, when we anchored in the bay of Colebra to take in water. We spent that day there to take tortoises, which are to be found in great numbers in that little bay : they are of different sizes, and we found one sort of them so large, that one was enough for fifty persons to feed upon in a day. On the twenty-fourth we put an hundred and fifty men ashore, in order to find out some town or borough, we having no guide with us that knew this country ; and, after we had walked a league or thereabouts, we alighted upon three hatto's very near one another, where finding edibles enough, we staid till the twenty-sixth, when we returned on board ; then captain Townsley proposed we should go and take the town of Villia, which is thirty leagues to leeward of Panama, to which all of us agreed, and that evening we weighed, having a wind blowing from the land, which served us till the twenty-seventh at noon, when it blew very hard from the south-east, accompanied with rain till the twenty-eighth in the evening, when it began to allay ; we were favoured all the twenty-ninth with a westerly wind, and that evening were brought in sight of Cape Blanch. On the thirtieth the weather was fair

enough; but on the thirty-first, two hours before daylight, it grew very boisterous, so that we were forced to put in for that cape; we had a thunder-bolt fell upon the end of our great sail-yard, which did no more than crack it: having moderate weather on the first of June, we steered east-south-east, and next day about noon had a sight of land; but it was so hazy, that we could not tell where we were: however we steered east by south-east, to come near. The weather being now somewhat cleared up, we found we were between the bay of Boca del Toro, and the point called Barica, when we sailed south and by south-east, to put out to sea, and then bore to the north-east, that we might reach the isle of St. John de Cueblo.

On the seventh we put in at the isle of Montosa, six leagues to the southward of that of St. John; we set out three canoes, with which we coasted round about this last, and our ships anchored at another little island, which is half a league to the east: while we were going round St. John's island with our canoes, we found nothing there but one of our prisoners, who having made his escape from us when we were there, and, being not able to get to the continent, returned to us: on the tenth we went back to our ships, and next day took in our store of water and wood, and cleaned our ships; there arose the succeeding night a north wind that tore our cables, and made us think we should be thrown ashore: but, as good luck would have it, it came about, and gave us an opportunity to make ready, and to cast anchor farther from the shore. By the favour of the lightning we discovered our canoes, and found their ropes also broken, and that the waves were throwing them ashore also, unless we had saved them, though we could not hinder one of them from being staved to pieces.

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On the thirteenth we made ready, and sailed for la Villia with a west-south-west wind, made land on the fifteenth, and knew it to be the cape called Morn a Puercos; then we bore off to sea with a hard wind till the evening, when the weather grew so very bad, that we did nothing till the eighteenth, but let our ships drive with a south-west wind, having terrible rain all the while till noon, when the weather grew better; and, being cleared up, we discerned three rocks, which are called the Three Brothers, standing three leagues to leeward of the bay of Villia, whither we were going. On the nineteenth we saw the point Mala, which is leeward of that bay: we sailed all night northward to get to the shore; and next morning at break of day we found ourselves within five or six leagues of it, when we furled all our sails except our sprit-sail: next evening we went on board our canoes, and put on all night after we had given our ships orders to lie by, and wait for us at the mouth of the bay where we were.

On the twenty-first in the morning we discovered the place where we were to go ashore, and cast anchor till night came, as we also took down our masts, for fear they should be discovered from the shore, and then made ourselves ready to land, which we did on the twenty-second an hour before day: but experience telling us we had not time enough before us to get to the place before daylight appeared, we put three leagues off where we anchored, having no where in this bay above fifteen fathom water. That evening we made for the shore again, which we could not recover before midnight, because the currents were against us. After we had got footing we marched to the number of an hundred and sixty men directly to the town, and took one of two Spaniards whom we found on the way, who told us that he was sent

by the alcaide major to watch on the sea-side, because they had seen a ship and a bark aloof off, which yet they were so little alarmed with; that they had increased their guard with no more than twenty men: we continued our march, and, for all the expedition we were able to use, it was an hour after sun-rising before we could get to the town, where we found no resistance, half of the people being then at mass: of men and women we took three hundred prisoners, by whom we understood there were three barks in the river, on which the town was situated. We sent presently out a party to take them, but the Spaniards, having lost no time, sunk one of them, hid the sails and rudder of the other two, and cut down their masts by the middle; so that the party, going on further, gave notice to those of us whom we had left to take care of our canoes, which they found at anchor at the river's mouth, that we had taken Villia; we gathered together that day the merchandize which the fleet had left in this town, computed by the Spaniards to be worth a million and a half, and to the value of fifteen thousand pieces of eight in good silver, which was an inconsiderable prize to what we should have found there, if the Spaniards, in all these countries, who are always apprehensive of the visits of the free-booters, had not hid their treasures out of our sight, many of whom chose rather to be killed, than to discover the places where they had buried them.

On the twenty-fourth we sent a party of fourscore men to conduct a like number of horses laden with bales of goods to the river-side, where we knew there were two canoes belonging to the Spaniards, on board of which, after they had put them, they were to bring them to the river's mouth where ours were; but one of our men, sent upon this occasion, was taken  
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by the enemy : the same day we sent a letter to the alcaide major (as they call him) in order to know whether he would ransom the town, and buy the effects we had seized : he sent us answer, that all the ransom, that he took upon him to give us, was powder and ball, whereof he had a great deal at our service ; that, as to the prisoners we had taken, he committed them to the hands of God ; and moreover, that his people were getting together as fast as they could to get the honour to see us. Upon the receiving this answer, which angered all our men, we fired the town, and went our ways to lie in a place where our booty was kept by our fourscore men, which was about a quarter of a league off : we were alarmed several times that night, and on the twenty-fifth put the best and finest effects on board the two Spanish canoes, because we could not carry off all. For our own canoes, as we have said, were at the mouth of the river, on board of which we could have laden the rest ; but they durst not come up thither, because of the ambuscades of the Spaniards who had already killed them a man, as they were endeavouring to come up to us, pursuant to the orders we had before left with them : wherefore, having laden the two Spanish canoes, we put nine men on board them, and the rest guarded them by land, all along the river-side, while six hundred Spaniards did the same on the other side, without being discovered by us, because of a great many trees, bushes, and thickets that grew along the banks thereof. When we had marched on about a league, we came to a place so full of these trees and thickets, that we could not pass it, so that we were obliged to take a turn about, which brought us off from the river-side about two hundred paces, which was the occasion, as you will hear, of the loss of all our booty, and the death of some of our men.

As we quitted the place where we lay, we ordered those who had the charge of our canoes to stop in this river, at a place where there were three Spanish barks, to the end we might endeavour to bring them away; but when they came there, they were suddenly surprized with an ambuscade, of which the Spaniards were never niggard to us, and, as they defended themselves against them, the current of the river drove them beyond the three barks, and consequently far from us; which was exactly what they would have, for, as soon as they saw them in a place where we could not relieve them, they discharged sixty musket-shot at them, with which they killed four and wounded one. The rest made their escape to the other side of the river, and abandoned their canoes, which a dozen Indians, who swam the river, carried to the Spaniards, who cut off the head of one of our men, who was only wounded, and set it on the top of a pole, that we might see it as we came down the river.

After we had finished the tour we had taken, we drew near the river again; and being to come to the place where the three barks were, and not finding our canoes, we thought they were still behind; but about an hour after we saw three of those who had the charge of them coming through the thickets toward us, who gave us a relation of the disaster that befel them, and said, that, as they passed the woods, they found the rudders and sails of those three barks, in two of which we embarked ourselves all together, and sent out constantly fifty men by land before us, to seek out those sails and rudders, giving them a signal, that we would fire off three guns, and that they should answer us with as many, to shew where they should find us, to the end they might join us there. But, at the same time that we fired our three pieces, we heard the  
report

report of above five hundred, which made us immediately conclude our men were attacked, wherefore we delayed not to go ashore, in order to relieve them; but, by the time we came up, the engagement was over; and, had not the river been between them and us, the matter had not been ended so. We found one of our people in this place, who had escaped out of our vessels, after we had brought away the ship-tackle that were hid in the woods.

After we were embarked, we asked the captain of horse of Villia, that was our prisoner, where it was the Spaniards could lay other ambuscades for us; he answered it might be about the river's mouth, and not only so, but that we should mistrust all those places, which seemed to give them any advantage over us, and then we came to an anchor, because of the coming in of the tide.

On the twenty-sixth we went ashore at a place where they had killed our men the day before; we found the two canoes dashed to pieces, and the bodies of our men whom they had wounded in several places after they were dead: one of them they had thrown into the fire, and put the other's head upon a pole, as we have said already. These objects so enraged our men, that they cut off, at the same time, four of their prisoners heads, whom they set up also upon poles in the same place. Then we took the bodies of ours to bury them on the sea-side, and, before we got thither, we were forced three times to go ashore to break through the ambuscades laid for us all along the river, at the mouth whereof we found also that we were warned of by the captain of horse aforesaid; but we happily freed ourselves from it, though with the loss of three men, and one wounded. At last we rejoined our canoes, where one of our wounded men died soon after.

The river of Villia is very large, and, at low-  
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water, it breaks at the mouth of it as on a flat shore. About a league to windward stands a great rock, which night and day, and at all seasons, is covered with a vast number of birds called fregates, maubies, and great goziers, that live altogether by fishing: great ships cannot enter into this river, they being obliged to anchor within cannon-shot in the sea, but, for barks of about 40 tons, they can go up a league and a half within it: the port, or place of embarking belonging to Villia, is still a league and a half higher, and the town a quarter of a league distant from it; it is very well situated, but its churches are almost fallen to ruin, though they are very rich on the inside: its streets are very straight, and the private houses pretty well built; on the outside of it are a great many hatto's, accompanied with very fine savanas: the town of Nata, which is the highest, stands seven leagues distant from it.

On the twenty-seventh came a person on board us to re-demand our prisoners, with whom we agreed for ten thousand pieces of eight ransom, and threatened to cut off all their heads, if they did not send us the money by the twenty-ninth. But, instead of that, he returned to tell us, that the alcaide major had seized upon those of their people, who were our prisoners, whom we had sent ashore to get wherewithal to ransom their wives; in revenge whereof we presently cut off the heads of two prisoners, and gave them the messenger to carry to the alcaide, telling him, if he sent us no other answer, we would cut off the heads of the rest, and, after having put the women upon an island, we would go to take himself: the same person in the evening returned to tell us, that all the ransoms would come, and that, besides them, they would bestow upon us ten beefs, twenty sheep, and two packs of meal, the least whereof

whereof usually weighed an hundred pound, every day as long as we staid.

On the thirtieth they brought us back the man whom they had taken, in exchange for the captain of horse that was our prisoner; and as they shewed themselves very fond of having French arms, they pretended to have lost them that belonged to our man, for which we made them pay four hundred pieces of eight: they proposed to buy them one of the barks we had taken from them, and agreed with us for six hundred pieces of eight, and one hundred pounds of nails, of which we stood in great need; whereupon we delivered her up, after we had first taken out her tackle and anchors. They also required a passport from us, that we would not retake the bark, in case we met with her out at sea, but only the goods wherewith she should be laden, which we also gave them.

Next day in the evening they brought us the ten thousand pieces of eight, as had been agreed upon; then we weighed, in order to go anchor at a place that served as a little port to an hatto, where they were to give us an hundred and twenty salted beefs: we departed from thence on the fourth of July, and anchored at the isle of Iguana, to see and get us some water, not daring to go and get us any on the continent that was guarded with four thousand men: but after we had cruised in some places, and found that the water was brackish, we resolved, rather than we would die for thirst, to make a descent with two hundred men on the terra firma, in order to procure us some in spite of the Spaniards, whom we found about an hundred paces from the sea-side lying upon the grass, and, after a short fight, put them to flight, seeing we were a people would hazard all for a small matter: this being over, we presently filled some casks with water, and re-embarked again.

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On the seventh we weighed anchor, and sailed for the King's Isles, and on the ninth anchored at Morne a Puercos, fourteen leagues to leeward of the island Iguana, to take in more water, there being nobody there to oppose us: we departed on the tenth with a favourable west-wind, and that day one of our wounded men died. On the thirteenth we discovered an island called Galera, which is to leeward of all the King's Islands; and on the fourteenth we began to perceive the currents that reign all the year round between those islands, which made us put farther off to sea. On the fifteenth we had a north-west wind, a fresh gale which brought us near land, and three days after, which was the eighteenth, we discovered cape Pin, and kept all day at the cape, for fear of being discovered by the inhabitants of those many islands that were round about us.

On the twenty-first in the evening, we went on board our canoes, and landed at midnight, but, for all the precaution we had taken, we were discovered by the people that were fishing for oyster-pearls, which are to be found in great numbers, sticking to the bottom of the rocks that are round about these islands: on the twenty-second in the evening we discovered, from one of these islands where we had made a descent, a ship under sail, to whom we gave chase, and came up with her two hours before daylight, whom, without any more ado, we boarded, and made ourselves masters of her: the men on board told us, the inhabitants of Panama did not think we were so near, and that, as we had come from the taking of Villia, they believed we had chose rather to have gone and wintered at St. John's island, where they thought still we had built a fort, grounding their persuasions upon those shams, I have before observed, we had formerly made, and still did, as we found occasion. They told us also that six-and-thirty English  
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and French were come from Peru in a bark, with an intention to pass by the way of the river Boca del Chica to the North-sea, but that the Spaniards, having intelligence thereof from the Indians, with whom they had made peace, since they had granted us passage through their country by that same river into the South-sea, went out to meet them in great numbers, had defeated the greatest party, and brought one prisoner to Panama: moreover, that two English parties consisting of forty men each, having an intention to pass from the North to the South-sea, had been all of them massacred but four, who were still prisoners at Panama; and, lastly, that there was a bark in the river of Boca del Chica, that tarried for eight hundred pounds in gold, dug up in the neighbouring mines, in order to carry it to Panama.

On the same day we returned on board our ships, and found them at anchor by the greatest of the King's Islands, and ordered our carpenters to make an half galley of the bark we had taken on the twenty-sixth. We put some questions afresh to the captain of the said bark, who told us, they were in daily expectation at Panama of the arrival of two ships laden with meal, which were to carry also the pay of their soldiers from Lima; upon which information we sent out our half-galley, which was now finished, to scout without the islands. On the thirtieth we departed with our canoes, and went ashore upon one of these islands, where we surprized a person that was come from Panama, whose master was captain of those Greek periaugues, whereof we had formerly spoken, who came on purpose thither to be taken, to the end he might endeavour by artificial ways to lead us into a snare, of which I am ready to give an account. This man immediately pretended a great deal of sincerity, in telling us several things, which  
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he knew we were not ignorant of, and some others, which we could not quickly and easily come to know; and among the rest, that there were in the river of Seppa two merchant barks, and a periaugue with sixty Indians on board, whom the Spaniards had armed since they made a peace with them; that besides, the governor of Villia had acquainted the president of Panama, that one of our men, whom they had taken, had assured him that thirty more of us, who had not been informed of the peace and good understanding there was between the Indians and the Spaniards, were about to pass from this sea to that of the North, by the same way we all of us had come into the South-sea; and that, upon this information, the president had sent an hundred men into the river of Boca del Chica to wait for them: but to compass his design, which was to draw us under the forts of Panama, he told us in the last place, that they had a little frigate which came laden into that port, and a galley that was sent out every evening upon the scout; we resolved to take the advantage of this information, which we took to be candid and real, and not to neglect this opportunity of getting some vessels for ourselves, whereof we stood in great need.

On the first of August we sent our galley for this purpose into the river of Seppa, in order to take one of the barks our captain spoke of, and at the same time we departed also with four canoes to go and seize those ships in the port of Panama, being accompanied by our Greek intelligencer, who intended to be our guide upon this occasion. He brought us two hours before daylight before the town, and, as the moon shone very bright, we staid for some cloud to obscure it, to facilitate our approach undiscovered to the ships in the port, whereof we saw one already, which, to our thinking, had her

her sails loose: and here was the lure and snare to which the captain led us; but by the effect of mere chance, or rather our own good fortune, we turned away to a ship which we unexpectedly saw going out of the port, and gave her chase, believing the same to be the galley that usually went out to scout, as we had been told: we took her without a gun-shot, and, upon examination of the captain who commanded her, he discovered unto us that the president of Panama had sent us a Greek, who was to suffer himself to be taken by us, and to whom he had promised a very great reward, if he succeeded in the project he had formed of destroying us; that the means that had been agreed upon, to effect it, were to bring us under the forts of that town, allured with the hopes of taking those ships there, wherewith he had amused us, and whereof that which seemed to us to have her sails loose was but a sham ship, a pistol-shot from the port, which was built upon firm land, of sorry planks ill set together, in which they had set up masts, and adorned her with some sails: and as this was the most apparent object, and the first that offered itself in sight, it was not to be questioned, but that we, who must believe the same to have been on the water, being deceived with the darkness of the night, would not have failed (being so greedy as we were to take her) to row up to her, where our canoes must infallibly run far ashore, and that, in the time that must necessarily have been spent in getting them off, the Spaniards would have leisure to fall upon us, where they did not doubt, but so great a number of men, as they had in so considerable a town as that was, would quickly overpower and destroy us.

This information, which came so seasonably, that it saved us from the certain danger we were going to

to throw ourselves into, was not so advantageous to our Greek captain, who being known by the captain of the bark for the same person, of whose treachery he had now advertised us, we paid him for his trouble, by sending him to the other world, where he designed to have sent us; after which we went to take the island of Tavoga, which had been reinhabited since we had left the coast of Panama.

From the second at night to the third, we left this island, and went to take that of Ottoqua, which is two leagues north and south from it, and which we found peopled again: we made ready on the fourth to go and join our galley, whom we had appointed to rendezvous at the isle of Sepilla; but we found her in our passage with a prize she had taken, being one of the barks that were in the river of Seppa, from whence, in coming out, she had met with an ambuscade that had killed her two men, and broke the arm of another.

On the fifth we saw five sail between Tavoga and Panama; we presently bore up to them, and found they were our own ships that had given chase to a bark come from Nata, laden with provision. The master thereof, finding he could not defend it, threw himself into the water, and swam ashore, after he had made some discharges with his small arms upon them: on the sixth we went with our prizes to anchor at Tavoga, and from thence writ to the president of Panama, that, if he would not give up the five English and French prisoners he had in that place, we would cut off the heads of fifty Spaniards we had in our hands: but, hearing no news of him, on the seventh we weighed, and sailed for the King's Islands: we anchored on the ninth to stop the leaks of our ships, and, while that was doing, we departed with our galley and four canoes for the river Boca del Chica, as well to be informed whether

whether it was true, that the Indians of Sambe had made peace with the Spaniards, as we had been assured, as to go and burn all that was built of the town called Terrible upon this fine river, that it might be a defence to a gold mine they had near. We went also to fight the hundred men, which the Greek told us lay in wait for thirty of our freebooters that were to pass into the North-sea.

On the eleventh we arrived at the mouth of the river Boca del Chica: we lay at anchor there till midnight, when we weighed, and, as the sea swelled, we suffered ourselves to be carried up the river at the pleasure of the current. About two in the morning our guide, still believing we were far from the place whither he was conducting us, made us put on a pace, which did us great harm, for, instead of going to surprize others, we were surprized ourselves; for, about a quarter of an hour after, we saw fire, but there was no going back now, for the river made a bow, from whence the rapidness of the tide coming in threw us, in spite of our teeth, upon these fires, which we came quickly to know were kindled by those hundred men we were in quest of, for they presently asked us from whence our canoes were bound, and being answered by our guide, pursuant to our order, from Panama, they asked again who was the commander, and we being long in pitching upon a Spanish name, they gave us a full volley: but two paterroec-shot, which we made at them, having forced them to quit their ground, we passed on, and anchored out of the reach of their arms, to wait for the ebb of tide, that we might get out again; for, as we could find no place to go ashore above them, for the country was full of marshes, except at the place where they were, we resolved to take them lower down, and so an hour before daylight



light we went back before their intrenchment, after we had put all our men under deck, and fired four patereroe-shots, wherewith we saluted them so opportunely, that we wounded them a great many men, and they made no great firing upon us.

On the twelfth we took a small vessel upon this river, wherein were three Indians; then we went ashore, with an intention to attack the Spaniards from behind their intrenchments, which commanded the river only; but they presently sent out their periaugue to take ours, which made us expeditiously return on board our vessels to defend them, and to alter the manner of our attack, by resolving to go to them before their court of guard, at the foot whereof we went ashore in spite of all the fire they made upon us, which lasted not long: for our patereroe and musket-shot killed them a great many men, which made them quickly fly, and leave us their intrenchment, where we found a great many dead and wounded men, and took some prisoners, among whom there was one named Alfier: he was an Indian, who, out of a blind zeal he had for the interests of the Spaniards, took us for them as we were going on board our canoes, and reproached us highly; but we quickly disabused my gentleman, letting the traitor know, to whom we had before been so kind in our passage by the same river, that we were become his enemies, since he was become ours, and then put him out of a condition ever to serve the Spaniards, or to injure us.

Those whom we took prisoners informed us, that we were discovered at the new town la Terrible, and confirmed the account we had before of the massacre of the three parties already mentioned, as well those who would have gone to the South-seas, as the other who were minded to return by the way of that river to the north. Within this intrenchment

ment we found a letter written by the president of Panama to a camp-master that commanded in the town la Terrible, which is as follows :

‘ When the enemy took la Villia, one of their  
‘ men was taken, who gave us information that  
‘ thirty men were to set forth by the way of the  
‘ river Boca del Chica, to return to the North-sea,  
‘ as believing there was still a good understanding  
‘ between them and the Indians. I have sent you  
‘ three hundred men to defeat those enemies of  
‘ God and goodness ; be sure to keep upon your  
‘ guard, be afraid of being surprized, and your  
‘ men will infallibly be gainers in defeating of  
‘ them.’

Here it may be said, that the prisoners whom we took were highly useful to us, as well by giving us means to subsist in these parts, as to deliver us from a great many ambushes and dangers, whereinto, had it not been for them, we must have fallen : witness this same, where the Spaniards would have spared our thirty men the pains of going to the North-sea. At last, when we had burnt their court of guard, we took their periaugue, with some pounds of gold-dust we found there, and then went down the river : as for those three Indians whom we took in the boat, we sent them to tell their comrades that we had killed him who was with the Spaniards, but that we had given them quarter, because they were not amongst them ; and this we did to endeavour to make them kind to us, and so disunite and separate them from the Spaniards.

Being got down on the thirteenth at noon to the mouth of the river, we met with one of our barks, whom we had ordered to come and attend us thither. Those within her told us, that, while they waited there, two Indian periaugues, being deceived with the sight of three or four Spanish prisoners.

ers whom they had put upon the deck for that purpose, came of their own accord, and delivered themselves up into their hands, with some pounds of gold they had found there; and that one of those Indians, who bore great sway amongst his own nation, had a commission from the president of Panama to arm several periaugues, and to make war upon us: we weighed that evening to go and join our ships that were cruizing between Cape Pin and King's Islands, and there we waited for those of the Spaniards, who, we were told, were to come from Lima.

We got on board our ships on the seventeenth in the morning, and that evening, in our passage by the King's Islands, anchored to leave our bark there to be careened: our people, during our absence, had put forty prisoners ashore upon one of those islands, who accidentally happening to meet with some canoes, which the Spaniards had hid thereabouts, they made use of them to get off; and to go to Panama, to inform the governor of the course we were to take, and that the ships we had left there were but weakly manned, which induced the president to send some force to attack them: but God was pleased so to order it, that we were returned with them to the rest of our company.

On the twentieth we made ready to go to cruise about Tavoga, and that evening anchored before the port of Panama, in order to learn some news: we saw two ships in the road, whither the town canoes went, and came all along without intermission; but, not dreaming they armed them against us, we anchored on the twenty-first at Tavoga.

On the twenty-first by break of day we descried three sail just upon us, which we could not discover before; because of one of the points of the island, which kept them out of our sight, inasmuch that

one of our ships, that had not time to weigh anchor, slipped her cable. As soon as they saw us make ready, they gave us some guns, and, as they had the weather-gage, they did not spare to make use of the advantage they had over us. We made five tacks to get to windward of them, and they could not hinder us ; but they lost the wind for want of resolution, not daring to pass between the island Tavaquilla and a rock, where there was indeed passage for no more than one ship, but we ventured it, and at last got the weather-gage: we fought them till noon, and knew not on which side the advantage lay, and, though they plied our decks very close, we still persisted to keep them clear of us, which was the occasion that they lost a grand opportunity of mending their tackling. We threw a great many granadoes into their biggest ship, one of which had so good an effect, as to set fire to some loose powder they had, which burnt a great many men, and this brought the fight to an end sooner than otherwise could have been expected: for we came up at the same time with the said ship now all on fire, and boldly boarded her, where, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made from the stern, whither they had all retired, we at last forced them to beg for quarter, and made ourselves master of the ship: at the same time one of our barks boarded one of theirs, and took it: the third that was a kind of a galley, who staid to the last, before she began to make her escape, as trusting to her good sailing, seeing herself now pursued by our galley, and two periaugues, ran herself ashore, where she presently staved to pieces, and but very few of her crew were saved.

They had in their little frigate fourscore men killed and wounded, out of an hundred and twenty that were on board: as for the bark there were no more out of seventy, than eighteen unhurt: neither could

could we see above ten or a dozen in all that swam ashore from the other vessel that was staved : all their officers were either killed or wounded, and among others the captain, who received five musquet-shot. He was the same person who fought so stoutly at Pueblo Nuevo, where he had received five more, and that had also laid an ambuscade for us at la Villia : but this last engagement rid us of him, for he died some time after.

While we were busy in mending the rigging of those ships we had taken, and throwing the dead overboard, we discovered two sail more come from Panama, which bore up towards us, whereupon we interrogated our prisoners, in order to know what they should be : they said they did not question but this was the relief they sent them : at the same time we bethought ourselves of a stratagem to amuse and make them believe we were taken, which was by putting up Spanish colours in our own ships, and in the prizes, with English and French ones under them : as soon as these two ships approached, they came up to our ship, who received them quite after another manner than they expected ; being thus surprized, they fired upon us with precipitation, and made off towards the little frigate which they supposed still to be theirs, who calling to them to lie by, and the others not doing it, they threw some grenades into one of their barks, which sent her to the bottom, while one of our periaugues boarded the other, wherein they found four packs of cords, but all of the same length, which they had made ready to tie us up with : but they reckoned their chickens before they were well hatched, and these ropes was the occasion that no quarter was given to those in the bark where they were found : we afterwards read the commission of the captain of the little frigate, which imported he should chase us as far as St. John's Island,

Island, and that, when they boarded us, they should spare none they found upon deck, but only our surgeons, whom they were willing to save; and that troops of horse should march along the shore, to take care that none of us made our escape to land in any canoe.

On the twenty-third, as we sailed away to go to anchor at Tavoga, we discovered another sail going back to Panama, whom we chased and took; she was a shallop whom the president had sent to fetch off our anchor, which we had not time to hale up the day before, which he came to know by the means of a canoe, who, passing that way, saw the buoy. But, for all the fatigues we had undergone in these adventures, we could not but scoff and laugh at the president, who had sent us ropes to hang his men, and also sent away to take this anchor, wherewith to anchor our ship in his port, which he believed his men would bring in: we anchored this evening at Tavoga.

We had but one man killed in all the fight, but there were twenty of us wounded, among whom was captain Townsley, who died most of them of their wounds: on the twenty-fourth one of our men died, and the same evening we sent one of our prisoners to the president of Panama to carry him a letter, wherein we required his giving up the five Freebooters who were his prisoners, and to send us some medicines for (as we said) the use of his own people, though, in truth, they were for our own; we also complained heavily of the little quarter they had given to the three parties whereof I have spoken, whom they had inhumanly massacred. He sent to us that night the commander of Seppa, who spoke a little French, with the following letter.

*The president of Panama's letter.*

‘ Gentlemen,  
 ‘ I WONDER that you, who should understand how  
 ‘ to make war, should require those men of me  
 ‘ that are in our custody: your rashness hath some-  
 ‘ thing contrary in it to the civility wherewith you  
 ‘ ought to treat those people that were in your  
 ‘ power: if you do not use them well, God will  
 ‘ perhaps be on our side on another occasion: and,  
 ‘ as for the little quarter you complain we have  
 ‘ given, you see the contrary by those that have  
 ‘ been in our hands for some time past: if you please  
 ‘ to put our men you have in your power ashore,  
 ‘ we will take care to have them cured of their  
 ‘ wounds.’

We ordered the said officer to carry him our answer by word of mouth, that, if they would not send us our prisoners, we would send them the heads of all the Spaniards in our possession. On the twenty-fifth we weighed anchor, and sailed away for fear they should, for an answer, send a fireship, as they had done by the English two years before, and burn us: on the twenty-sixth in the morning we anchored at the isles of Pericos, that are not above a league distant from Panama. Towards noon we discovered a ship under sail, and sent out our galley to know what she was; it was our own long bark that was come from careening, wherein were sixty men that were not present in the fight. This day two of our wounded men died, though all of them were but slightly wounded, which is no matter of wonder, for all the Spaniards bullets were poisoned.

On the twenty-seventh in the morning came one to us from the bishop (who concerned himself much in  
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this business, for he had stirred up the president to fit out ships against us) who brought us a letter, which in substance was the same that follows :

*The bishop of Panama's letter.*

Gentlemen,

THOUGH the president of Panama hath writ to you very inconsiderately, I earnestly desire you to shed no more of the innocent blood of those that are in your power, all of them having been engaged by constraint to make war against you : the president obeys the king's orders, who forbids him to restore any prisoners of war ; I will do my endeavour to get the men released, take my word, and rest satisfied.

I am to acquaint you that all the English are Roman Catholicks, that there is now a church at Jamaica, and that those four that are with us, having changed their religion, are willing to live amongst us.

This we saw was only a pretence to detain our men, and this sly refusal, together with the trouble we were in, for the loss of those who died continually of their wounds, through the violence of the poison that had got into them, forced us, though with reluctancy, to resolve to send twenty of his people's heads to the president in a canoe, and ordered him to be told, that if by the twenty-eighth he did not send us all our men, we would send him the heads of all the rest of the prisoners. I confess this was a violent way of proceeding, but we had no other method left us to bring the Spaniards to reason ; and we knew them to be a people, who, without we had shewed this resolution, would despise,

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and



and be so much the more bent to ruin us in a short time, by how much the more indifferent we shewed ourselves; for they are usually no otherwise courageous, than when they believe their enemies are of a dastardly nature.

On the twenty-eighth, betimes in the morning, came a person on board, who brought us our five men, whereof four were English, and the other a French man, together with some refreshments for the wounded men, and a letter to this purpose :

*The president of Panama's letter.*

“ I SEND you all the prisoners I had in my power, and, if there had been more, you should have had them delivered : but, as for those that are in your custody, I will leave that to be managed according to your own honesty and the practice of war.”

Hereupon we sent him a dozen of the most wounded amongst their men, and writ to him the following letter :

*A letter for the president of Panama.*

“ HAD you used us in this manner when we sent to you for the releasement of our five men whom you sent us, you would have saved the lives of those wretches, whose heads we have sent you, and whose death you have been the occasion of : we give you a dozen men by way of exchange, and require twenty thousand pieces of eight for the ransom of those that are still behind : but, in default thereof, we shall put them out of condition to send us poisoned bullets again ; which is so manifest a contravention of the laws and maxims

‘ of a just war, that if we were minded to punish  
 ‘ according to the rigour of those rules prescribed  
 ‘ thereby, we should not have given one man of  
 ‘ them quarter.’

Our five men, whom the Spaniards gave up to us, farther confirmed us in the account we had of the massacring of the three fore mentioned parties in the river of Boca del Chica, whereof they themselves were eye-witnesses. About twelve a clock of the same day, which was the twenty-eighth, we weighed, and anchored again at Tavoga to take in water: and whilst matters were concluded on between the Spaniards and us, in respect to the ransoming of their people, we required they should come to a treaty with us, which they consented to, and sent us daily divers canoes full of merchandize and other refreshments, all which we had dog-cheap of them, except meal, bisket, meat, and other provisions which they kept back, the reason whereof might be easily guessed at.

On the twenty-ninth their messenger returned, who gave us an account that he had been about the city to get the ransom, and that they had not got above six thousand pieces of eight together; but, as we were eager to be gone, we told them they must send us ten thousand pieces of eight, or else we would go into the city to fetch them. The effect of this blustering was, that on the first of November came a canoe to tell us that a bark would bring us next day the sum we demanded; and on the second two of our men died.

As we saw nothing coming from Panama, we made ready and entered into the port, and when we had hung out our main flag, we fired a gun; they answered our signal by putting up a white flag upon one of the bastions of the fort, to give us

notice that the money was not yet ready, which made us put out again, and lie all night at the cape before the mouth of the port. Next day came to us a knight of Malta in a bark, wherein he brought us ten thousand pieces of eight, and received the prisoners from us. On the fifth we anchored at Ottoqua, in order to victual our ships; on the seventh two of our men died.

On the eighth, the Indians who had been our guides in our passage from the North to the South sea, and who kept close with us ever since, were taken or murdered by the Spaniards upon this island of Ottoqua, in revenge for the service they had done us: on the eighth in the morning we put fifty men ashore, to see if they could find the place wherunto the Spaniards had withdrawn themselves, whom we could not find in their habitations, that we might know what they had done with those Indians; but we could find nothing, save their money and baggage, which they had hid in a vault.

The same day at noon captain Townsley died of his wounds: we threw his body into the sea, according to his desire, with such ceremonies as are usual upon these occasions: on the tenth we weighed, and came to an anchor at King's Islands, and two days after died one of our wounded men. On the seventeenth we put out with the little frigate and long bark, to sail to the port of Panama, to see whether they had any ships there that might come to insult us, while our vessels were a careening. We had a N. W. wind, so that we could not reach the isles of Pericos before the tenth, when we found ourselves under the forts of that town. We furled our low sails, and, as the Spaniards saw us bring to, they gave us three guns, after they put up Burgundian colours upon the windward bastion: but when we understood there was no ship in that place  
whereof

whereof we might be afraid, we went out a cruizing between Tavoga and Sippilla, we being resolved to watch those two ships that were to come from Lima, and in the mean time we sent one of our periaugues to bid our men careen the vessels with all expedition, and that they need fear no danger from Panama. We had very bad weather in this channel; it blew round all the points of the compass with such violent whirlwinds, that the sea grew very boisterous: but, on the twenty-eighth, the weather proving more moderate, we discovered a ship sailing all along the coast of the main land, after which we sent two periaugues in chace: she would have entered into the port of Panama, but they firing upon her from the fort, as believing she was one of our ships, she passed by, and our periaugues took her: she came from Nato, and was laden with provisions and sugars, which she was carrying to our enemies, who had the charity to put her back to us.

On the eleventh, being not able to see any thing of what we waited for, we sailed for the King's Islands, and, as the moon shone bright, we found the currents very strong there also, which obliged us to anchor in the channel, with all the tides contrary to us, from twenty to forty fathom water: we arrived on the sixteenth at the island where our ships were careening, and found them all ready done.

The sea round about these King's Islands, whereof I have spoken so much, is full of a great many very large whales, who are infested by a fish they call espadon, that assaults them continually with a kind of fish-bone, like unto a sabre, fastened to their heads; and this makes those monstrous animals to give such leaps and rebounds, that they raise themselves continually above the water: but to return from a great fish to a small one, I shall say, that, besides pearl-oysters, which are to be found in those

parts in great numbers, there are also others that are exceeding good, and so large that they are forced to cut them into four parts to eat them, and they are, when roasted, exceeding white.

We departed on the eighteenth, and sailed for those islands that are in the main, where we came to an anchor on the nineteenth in the morning, and on the twentieth put out with our galley and two periaugues to go to a sugar-plantation which stands two leagues to leeward of Panama, giving orders at the same time to our ships to come and anchor there three days after us. We possessed ourselves of the said plantation, and seized all the people belonging thereto, who told us there was a courier come from Chiriquita to Panama, who reported he had seen two ships, and as many barks, belonging to the Freebooters, anchor at the port of that town, who came for provision there, wherewith we were somewhat surprized, and could hardly believe those Freebooters would have left so good a coast as that of Peru was (whither we knew they were gone) to come thither, which is much worse; which difference arises from no other than the abundance and quality of the provisions that the former produceth, whereof I shall give you an account hereafter: we were also informed by these prisoners, as it was very true, that a galley, which we knew well enough was in building at Panama, was finished, that she carried fifty-two oars, five pieces of cannon, and forty patereroes; that there were, what with those come from Carthagena and Porto Bello, five hundred men come to go on board her and two periaugues, and that they watched the opportunity of our passing before their port, as we had used to do, to the end they might put out in the night, and surprize us during the absence of our other ships, whom they supposed to be still a careening. On the twenty-fourth we anchored  
at

at Ottoqua, to gather mace and rice that were still standing on the ground ; and next day being apprehensive, according to the report of our prisoners, that there might be free-booters at Chiriquita, we sent a bark thither, to give them notice, if she found it to be really so, that we would come up to them as soon as we had taken in some provisions along the coast : we put nineteen prisoners on the twenty-ninth ashore, and made ready to depart with an easterly wind : we were got, on the thirtieth in the morning, over-against the bay of La Villia ; we straitened our round top, being afraid to come by it : we embarked in the evening on our canoes, and on the thirty-first at midnight went ashore. We were quickly discovered by a party that went the rounds, which made us use all the diligence imaginable in order to get into the town, before they had time to make themselves ready : but our guide having led us out of the way, another party making the round passed by, who no sooner saw us, but they made all the haste they could to get away, yet we fired upon them presently, which dismounted three of them, and one we took prisoner, who told us we were still three leagues distant from La Villia, and that we were gone out of our way, that all the people there were at their arms, and that they had had a reinforcement of six hundred men sent them from Panama. Upon this information we stopped short, and were forced to return back again, because we knew very well that we were discovered, and that so we lost all our labour. Before we went on board, we went to eat to an Estancia that was half a league off from the sea-side, from whence the Spaniards brought us back, by charging our rear from time to time, till that we had rejoined our canoes, whereon when we had re embarked, we found ourselves so weary and fatigued, that we deferred till next day to go and join our ship ; and this being

K. 5.

perceived

perceived by the Spaniards, they fired so furiously upon us, that we were constrained to go and lie at anchor farther from the shore.

On the second of November we rejoined our ships that were cruising in that bay. In the evening we anchored between the island of Iguana and the continent over-against some hatto's we saw there, with a design to go and see for some provision; to which end we went ashore on the third at noon, where we found the Spaniards got together, with whom we fought for half an hour; they killed us one man, and wounded another: but they could not hinder us to go to the next hatto, where we found no sort of cattle, for the Spaniards had carried away and drove them before them; here we lay this night; but the Spaniards being unwilling to let us have any rest, we were forced at midnight to march out against them, and made them quit the field to us.

On the fourth we returned on board our vessels, having brought only some little refreshments along with us to our wounded men; and that evening sailed away with a west wind, keeping out to sea to the fifth at noon, when we returned to land; at midnight we steered S. S. E. as near the wind as we could till the sixth, that we were brought back to the shore; about the middle of the following night we discovered a vessel under sail, and joined her: it was the bark that we had sent to Chiriquita, who meeting with very bad weather, was constrained to put back under the morn or cape of Puercos. On the seventh, being not able to double the morn, because of the contrary west winds, we sent our galley to Chiriquita, instead of our bark; we could not double the morn before the twelfth: and we had a blast of wind on the night, that, in itself, was favourable enough for our course, but the currents carried us so to leeward, that we were still on the  
thirteenth

thirteenth six leagues to leeward of the morn. We steered W. N. W. bearing upon the Isle of Tygers, the which stands six leagues N. and S. from the continent, between the river of St. James and this morn or cape of Puercos : on the fourteenth at night we were apprehensive, lest we should be drove too near the shore.

On the sixteenth we arrived at St. John's Island, where we met with our galley returned from Chiriquita, having found nothing of what she sought for in that place ; which still increased the suspicion we had already entertained, that the president of Panama had caused a false report to be spread abroad, that some free-booters had been there, that so he might get us to quit his port, and make way, by our absence, for those ships that were expected from Peru to enter into Panama ; and this so much the more heightened our courage, in that we came to understand, one day after another, the cowardice and dastardly nature of this proud nation, who, with her three-decked ships, mounted each of them with eighteen pieces of cannon, and having four hundred men on board, were afraid of pitiful barks, who had but four guns and some patereroes in all, with which, however, we waited for them.

On the eighteenth we brought our gallies and canoes ashore, in order to clean them ; two days after we departed, with an intention to take some prisoners, from whom we might obtain certain intelligence of the truth or falshood of any free-booters having been at Chiriquita, for they might have been gone before we had sent thither, and, upon our departure, we appointed our ships to rendezvous at the Isle of St. Peter, there to tarry till we returned. On the morning of the twenty-fourth we went ashore two leagues to the leeward of the river Pueblo Nuevo, where, after we had travelled till about four in the



afternoon, to discover some houses, we saw two horsemen, one of whom we dismounted, but he made his escape, and took the other, of whom we asked where we were; and being informed that there was; about half a league from thence, a borough called St. Lorenzo, we went that way, and arrived there in the twilight: here we took a great many prisoners, who told us they had heard of no freebooters from the time we had taken Chiriquita, which now fully confirmed us in a belief of the amusement the president of Panama had entertained us with: on the twenty-sixth we returned to the seaside with our prisoners, and discovered our ships that were sailing to the place of rendezvous, to whom we sent a canoe, to give them notice to come and anchor at an island which is over-against, and three quarters of a league distant from the port of St. Lorenzo.

This borough stands a league and a half within land, and is, in my opinion, no more than a village; it is inhabited partly with Spaniards, and partly Indians; who, as I have already said, have been reduced by degrees, and submitted themselves to the Spaniards: it is a very open country, and a man is so far from being sure of what place he is in, that he would believe himself to be at Chiriquita, when here, so like is the one to the other, as well in respect to the borough and places adjacent, as for the course and disposition of the rivers wherewith it is watered.

On the twenty-sixth in the evening we went on board our ships with our prisoners, and agreed with them upon what quantity of provision they were to give us for their ransom; on the twenty-seventh we sent the father or curate of the place ashore, to dispatch the sending of it: on the twenty-eighth the English, who made part of our fleet, desired us to come together, in order

order to make a division of the ships and artillery we had taken, as being desirous to be in a ship by themselves, which was presently done. On the first of December we sent a canoe to the continent, and the men that were in her told us, they had seen a troop of horse who threatened them at a distance with their cutlasses, which made us at night, to the number of a hundred men, go ashore to see them: on the second we waited for them in their town of St. Lorenzo, but, no body appearing, we burnt it. As soon as the Spaniards saw the fire, the commander of the place came to offer us a sum of money for the ransom of the prisoners, which we refused, because we had much more need of provision: we told them, if they did not send us the same, pursuant to the agreement we had already made with their people, they should have no more to do than to send for their heads away from the island. In the said commander's house we found the following letter writ by the tenient of Chiriquita:

*A letter from the tenient of Chiriquita to the commander of the town of St. Lorenzo.*

S I R,

I HAVE sent you, by way of reinforcement, all the men which I could get together: use your endeavours to take one or other of the enemy, to the end we may know what they design to do, about which our generals are mightily concerned: order the cattle to be drove away from the sea-side, and put them into a place fit to lay an ambuscade, to the end that the enemy, severing from one another, according to their usual manner, in order to kill them, it may be so much the more easy for you to secure some one of them: but, if you cannot do that, lay an ambuscade at a place where  
you

‘ you think they will put our prisoners ashore, and  
‘ let them shew you those persons whom they have  
‘ observed to be most respected on ship-board; so  
‘ that, if God gives us the advantage over them,  
‘ do not you cut them off, but send them to me;  
‘ especially interrogate the women, that you may  
‘ know whether they have met with some weak fel-  
‘ low that hath made any discovery unto them.’

This letter made us keep more upon our guard than otherwise we would have done, and we returned on board our ship that evening: on the third we went in a canoe ashore, to see whether they had brought the provision agreed upon for the ransom of their people, but, instead of that, we saw them busy in raising an intrenchment near the place where they expected we should make our descent, which gave us to understand they pursued the orders prescribed to them by the foresaid letter. On the fourth we put those prisoners ashore upon the island where we had anchored, and left them there, without any further expecting of their ransom, that so we might secure ourselves against that ambuscade whereinto we must have fallen, had we sent them to the same place where we took them.

In the evening we weighed and sailed for the bay of Boca del Toro, with an easterly breeze that put us forward: on the fifth we doubled the point of Porica, which is ten leagues to leeward of that bay; at the height whereof we were becalmed till the tenth; when, towards evening, a small wind blowing from the sea arose, which brought us to the mouth of the bay: but the same was followed by so terrible a tempest, that our ship lay for an hour in such a manner, that she was under water as far as her great scuttle; and what amazed us was, that our ropes, sheets, and clutings were cut so cleverly,  
as

as if the same had been done with an hatchet : however, this tearing of our rigging served us in good stead, for, had it not been for that, we had quickly gone to be meat for fishes ; for our sails, being held by no other than the wind and arms alone, the sail-yards, yet stretched themselves out along the masts, and our ship, by little and little, happily recovered herself : the wind was allayed in the dusk of the evening by a great deal of rain that fell, wherewith we were becalmed ; and on the eleventh we had a southerly wind, which brought us to an anchor in the bottom of the bay.

The mouth of this bay of Boca del Toro is about four or five leagues in extent from one point to another, and eight in depth. If you would enter into it with safety, you must keep the whip of your rudder to starboard, because it is dangerous to keep to the east side. Here is good anchorage every-where, and also a covert ; one may anchor in the bottom of the bay within pistol shot of land.

There are four islands contained in it, that stand very near unto the main land to the east and north-east ; but it is not safe to lie near them, because of the many rocks that are there. Several fine rivers discharge themselves into it, and lead us up them to divers Indian carbets, who have neither peace, nor are in amity with any people whatsoever, no more than those whom I have mentioned when I spoke of cape la Vella and Boca del Drago ; which yet does not hinder the Spaniards from passing their caravans through the midst of their country, when they come from Costa Rica to Panama : but then they must be very well guarded ; and the great road, through which they pass, is not above six leagues from the sea-side.

On the twelfth we went to find out trees fit both to make canoes of for carrying our water, and canoes  
of

of war: on the twenty-fifth, being Christmas-day, after we had, according to custom, said our prayers in the night, one of our quarter-masters being gone ashore, in order to take care about our eating some victuals (for our ships being a careening, all our provisions were then put out) one of our prisoners, who served us as cook, stabbed him with a knife in six several places, wherewith crying out, he was presently relieved, and the assassin punished with death.

## C H A P. IV.

*The Free-booters voyage to the South-seas in 1687.*

ON the first of January, 1687, our canoes being ready, we left this bay and sailed for that of Caldaïra, that we might victual there, and make an end of careening our ships: we left them there on the second, after we had given orders to those who had the charge of them, to come and join us in the bay, and we embarked two hundred men in our canoes, to cross over to la Cagna, which is a small island very inconvenient to draw near to, and stands about a league north and south from the main land, between Boca del Toro and Caldaïra. We were six days in our passage before we could get thither, having only put forward in the night, for fear of being discovered: being come on the sixth at night into the bay, our guide made us put in under a covert; and told us that, to prevent our being discovered, we should go ashore in that place; which we had no sooner done, but we were conducted into a marsh; in the soundest places whereof we sunk in the mud to the very middle, insomuch that five of our men, of whom we could see no more than their heads; did not give us a small trouble to pull them out with cords we made fast to mangles, which are trees of that

that name growing in this marsh : so that, not knowing how we should be able to free ourselves from this wretched place, we lifted up our guide to the top of a tree, to endeavour, by the help of moonlight, to discover how far we might be from sound land : but he, finding himself now at liberty, skipped like a monkey from tree to tree, and railed all the while at us, who could neither see him, nor do any more than threaten him, which I believe he little mattered. We spent the rest of the night in making about an hundred steps in this sweet place, where we exactly went the rounds, and from whence we could not come out till break of day, and not then neither, without being bedaubed all over from top to toe, and having our arms laden with mud. When we were in a condition to reflect a little upon ourselves, and that we saw two hundred men in the same habit, and so curiously equipped, there was not one of us who forgot not his toil, to laugh at the posture he found both himself and the rest in. At length, after having inveighed against our guide who had so cunningly saved himself when he saw us stuck fast in the mire, we went into our canoes again, where we cleaned ourselves as well as we could, as we did also our arms, and, after having left our covert, we met with a very pretty river, whereinto we entered, and went up it about two leagues, where we landed at an intrenchment. There we found the remains of the two ships which the Spaniards had burnt, when an English free-booter, whose name was Betsharp, came to careen in this bay, which made us suppose, according to the relation that had been given us concerning it, that it was the embarking place belonging to Nicoya. We followed the road we found there, and marching about two leagues, at the end of them we entered, by the help of the bark-  
ing

ing of the dogs, into a borough called Sancta Catalina, where we took all the inhabitants prisoners. Now as we were informed by them there, that there was no more than three leagues to Nicoya, we mounted sixty men on horseback, in order to go thither; but we met half way with horsemen, whom we could not reach, and who, returning back with full speed, gave the inhabitants notice of our march towards them, insomuch that, by the time we got thither, they had already hid all their effects, and were expecting our coming upon the place of arms, from whence we drove them, after we had sustained their first discharge, with which they neither killed nor wounded one of our men. While we were gathering what provision we could together, we sent out small parties into the neighbouring places, who brought us some money, and, among other things, the governor's plate and all his moveables.

On the eighth we left the town, and went to rejoin our people at Sancta Catalina, where we staid the remainder of that day: at night came two of the enemy's centinels thither, one of whom we killed; for they, not knowing we were in the town, were come to give the Spaniards notice that they saw three sail of ships enter into the bay, and that they were enemies: but this intelligence came too late. On the ninth we left this place to go join our canoes again, on which being embarked, we left one of our prisoners ashore to go and raise the ransom of those we carried along with us; and, on the tenth, we got on board our ships that lay at anchor in the bay. We had found among the governor of Nicoya's papers three letters, which were these that follow,

*The*

*The governor, or general of the province of Costa Rica his letter to the president of Panama, dated May 24, 1686.*

S I R,

THIS letter is to let you know of the taking of our dear town of Granada by pirates on the tenth of the last month: they came ashore at a place where we had no centinels, we supposing there was no occasion for it, because the sea is so high there; they passed on cross a wood like so many wild beasts: we had the good fortune to have notice of it by our fishermen, though we were already upon our guard ever since the news we had concerning them from Lesparso and Nicoya. They lay on the ninth at the fine house of don Diego Ravalo, knight of St. James; we were very well prepared to receive them, but the way of fighting practised by these men did so much astonish ours, that we could not make that resistance we had promised ourselves we should do. They fell on briskly, singing and dancing, as if they had been going to a feast; at length, after we had been fought bravely by them, they won the place of arms, with the loss of thirty of their men, according to the estimate of don Antonio de Fortuna, a person of good experience in war, who came to us some months before. We are also of opinion that they have lost their general, for we saw a man, that distinguished himself from the rest by his habit, fall.

After they had staid for the space of four days in our fort, they sent to require us to ransom the town and prisoners they had taken; but, we being not very forward to return an answer to their proposal, they burnt it, and went their ways.

Seignior



Seignior don John de Castilla, serjeant-major, went out to observe them with his men ; but, not knowing they took away our artillery, he attacked these enemies of God and goodness about a mile from the town ; but they, being resolved to make their way through, or to die upon the spot, slew so great a number of his men, that the rest fled, and left their commander alone.

We have taken one of their men, who told us they came to our province upon no other design than to know the strength of it, though it is not to be doubted, if they had found our vessels at anchor, but they would have made use of them to pass by the way of our lake, to the North-sea, and have abandoned their comrades, who looked after their ships, and their way would have been infallibly by Carthage. Monsieur, the governor, takes his measures thereupon, and continues to fortify his retrenchment. I shall give you a more ample account of this business by the first caravan.

*The president of Panama's letter to the governor of Costa Rica.*

S I R,

THIS is to give you notice of the advices I have received from Carthagena, by the way of Puerto Bello. The king of France, supposing he had received some affront from our nation, sent eighty sail of all sorts before Calix, to demand contribution ; and, seeing there was so vast an inequality of force upon this occasion, we agreed to give him half a million to withdraw his ships, and return to their ports.

You know that my lord bishop, on the twenty-second of August, forced me to send out three ships

ships to fight the pirates, that continued still before our port, and took all the barks and canoes that were coming on. Our ships surprized them at break of day, which made one of the pirates slip his cable; and this was done, not for to fly away, but through the skill of the commander. I saw the flight from my ramparts, the honour whereof I thought infallibly to have appertained unto us. Having seen them draw near the shore, I sent a shallop to bring away the anchor of that vessel that had slipped her cable, in order to fasten her in our port. As soon as ever I saw them ungrappled, I dispatched away two long barks, or gallies, to go and learn the news, and to bring those of the enemy that survived before me, though my orders were, that no quarter should be given to any that were found upon deck, to the end we might rid the world of these enemies of God and his Saints, who prophane his churches and destroy his servants. In the evening they sent one of our men to require me to give up five men of theirs, that I had prisoners in my town, and, as my prince forbad me to do so, I refused it: but these new Turks sent me twenty heads, and I bethought myself, that, for the preventing of the slaughter of so many Christians, I ought to send them their men, with ten thousand pieces of eight, for the ransom of ninety of our people, that were almost all wounded, which they sent us, out of three hundred and thirty they had taken with them. Thus you see how God is pleased to afflict us on all sides, let us take all for the sake of his sufferings for us.

*The*

*The tenient of Sanfonat's letter to the president of Panama.*

' Captain Francis Crognet is separated from his  
 ' fleet at Realeguo, and gone ashore with an  
 ' hundred and fifty men upon the isles of Napalla :  
 ' we took three of their men, who told us, that  
 ' those of them, that were gone up towards Pa-  
 ' nama, had a design to return to the North-sea.  
 ' The peace we have made with the Indians will do  
 ' us more hurt than good : we were concerned, at  
 ' least, to observe their motion, and stop at that pas-  
 ' sage. Those people, seeing no place whereunto  
 ' to retire, became as so many enraged dogs : we  
 ' had no need of that, for wherever these irreligious  
 ' wretches set their feet on land, they always win  
 ' the victory. If you please, let them have free  
 ' passage, that we may be at rest ; they came ten or  
 ' a dozen times ashore, without knowing what they  
 ' wanted. Send us a man who understands the way  
 ' of sea-fighting, for I am of opinion they will never  
 ' be able to get off from these islands, and so it  
 ' will be convenient to go and take them there.'

On the twelfth, as we saw no ransom come, we  
 set out to go ourselves to Nicoya to fetch it, where  
 we arrived next day ; we sent out several parties also  
 in search of some victuals, which the people had  
 hid, and sent one to treat with them about the ran-  
 soming of their town. The tenient told us the go-  
 vernor was gone for relief to Costa Rica, and that  
 he had no orders to pay any ransom, farther than  
 what had been agreed on for the prisoners, which  
 was all ready, and that he would not have us be im-  
 patient, if we received not the same as soon as we  
 desired it, because they having no canoes whereby

to send the money to us by sea, which might have been done in half a day's time (the passage was so short that way) had been obliged to have it carried on mules' backs by land, which was four days journey. When we had received this answer, we sent again to tell him that our intention was to have been gone next day; but that, however, seeing he waited in expectation of succours, we would wait also; but, at length, growing impatient that things were so long retarded, we went our ways on the seventeenth.

Two days after, being the nineteenth, they came to the sea-side, over-against the place where our vessels lay at anchor, and brought us the ransom they had promised for the prisoners, whom we sent ashore at the same time. We gave them a letter which we writ to the governor, wherein we sent him word, if he would let us know when his reinforcement came, we should not fail to attend him and that, in the mean time, if he did not send us so many horse-load of biscuit and mace, as we required of him, for the ransom of the town, he might assure himself we should go and burn it.

On the twentieth we weighed anchor, and went to one of the islands in this bay to careen our vessels. On the twenty-second we went off in our canoe, leaving no more men with our ships than were necessary to careen them, and sought out some hatto's, where we might get necessary subsistence, to the end we might lay by, and keep in store those provisions we had got together on board, and whereof we should have occasion in the execution of an enterprize we had formed upon the town of Queaquilla. On the twenty-second, at night, we went ashore at Caldaira, where we were discovered by the centinels, who, as they made their escapes, set fire unto the Savanas, in order to stop our passage; however, this did not hinder



hinder us to reach the little town of Leparso, which had been almost intirely abandoned since the time of our being there before.

On the twenty-third we had the curiosity, or rather humour, to pursue the first road that offered itself to our view at our departure; and, after we had marched about a league on, we discovered about two hundred horse upon our flank and in our rear: a Spaniard, who was advanced before the rest, made a thousand mouths at us, and reviled us as much, which gave us an occasion to hide five of our men that were behind the rest, in the grass, that was exceeding high upon both sides of the way, and leave our main body to march on; so that when our Spaniard, who still followed our people, went to pass forwards, he was quickly dismounted, and we made him make a grimace in good earnest: we questioned him according to our usual ceremony, that is to say, by putting him on the rack, about the place where we were: he told us we were on the highway of Carthage, and that all places were quite forsaken from thence to this town, which was no less than twenty-seven leagues, out of an apprehension his country had, lest we should go and force them to grant us passage to the North-sea, as their chief officers had caused it to be reported among them. He also gave us information, that they had four hundred men making their rounds, whereof the two hundred we saw were of that number, being detached to observe the time of our landing, that so they might retire to a strong retrenchment they had six leagues on this side the town, for to beat us back, in case we made that way. Being thus pre-admonished, we thought it not convenient to go any further, our design being no other than to know the country, and to get us some victuals; so we returned to Leparso, and on the twenty-fourth rejoined our canoes.

On the twenty-sixth we went ashore, under the guidance of our new prisoner, who brought us to a sugar-plantation, where we divided into two companies to go to two hatto's, and took all the people we could meet with there, who informed us, that several other hatto's, and sugar-plantations in the neighbourhood, had all together set out two hundred armed men, who were gone in the evening to beat back the crew of three of the enemy's canoes that had landed at Colebra, where they had killed and wounded divers Spaniards. We presently imagined it must have been captain Grognet that was come up that coast, and therein we were not mistaken; we immediately returned back to the sea-side, to go with our canoes to meet him, and in our way heard the noise of several cannon-shot and small arms, towards the place where we had left our ship careening, which made us double our pace, and reimbark in our canoes.

As soon as we were got on board our ships, we found captain Grognet, with three canoes there, who, with his crew, had been conducted to the said place by one of our canoes, whom they had fortunately met in crossing this bay; and the firing we had heard was made by the one and the other, for joy of their meeting together.

Grognet told us, that he came up this coast with an intention to find out an uninhabited place, to the end he might land without opposition, and to fetch a compass cross the country to get to the North-sea. We laid the danger whereunto he must necessarily expose so small a number of men before him (they being no more than sixty in all) that if he were resolved to undertake so dangerous an enterprize, it were better he would stay with us until we found a favourable opportunity to repass together to that sea, as being better able conjointly to surmount those dif-

ficulties which we might be exposed to thereby. Being overcome with our reasons, he staid with us; and after we had given him an account of the adventures we had had since our separation from him, he also, in his turn, entertained us with a recital of his, and told us, he had made several descents in the bay of Napalla with various success, and that, among other things, in one of those descents, the Spaniards had taken three of his men, who had been exchanged some time after for other prisoners. But that the Spaniards had so far corrupted those three men with the fine promises they made them, while they were in their custody, that, upon their return, they insinuated into their comrades, in order to betray them, a design of going to a very considerable gold mine, which was fourteen leagues off from the sea-side, and as many from Tinsigal, and that, being prepossessed of making their fortunes there, they had left the island where they were, to the number of an hundred and twelve men, and went ashore upon the continent, with an intention to go to that mine, under the guidance of the prisoners, who knew the way, and towards which they journied only in the night-time, for fear of being discovered; that those three men who had been exchanged, and sold their friends to the Spaniards, pretended they were weary, and had occasion to rest, that so they might not go with the rest; that, for all this, they departed two hours after, bringing to the Spaniards (who waited in a convenient place for them) all the prisoners that were ashore in the said bay, and, after some time, carried off the arms and ammunition of all the rest of our company that staid behind upon the island, who had no mistrust of them, whereof they laded a canoe; but that the treachery, in the mean time, had not had all the projected effect; and that he and his men got to the mine without opposition, because

cause the Spaniards, who had made all things ready for massacring of them, when going ashore, got thither later than they should have done, and that through the fault of our renegadoes, who had too much precipitated the departure of their comrades, whom they thus saved by pressing them on to their ruin : that they had got no great purchase at the mines, because there had been orders given before for saving their treasure ; though, after all, it was not above an hour's space that they had got away four hundred and fifty pounds of gold, that was already prepared. That yet they found some pounds still left, and took some prisoners, who were surprized by them, as not expecting their company so soon, and that they also did believe they had been defeated by the way, as the design had been formed against them.

That when they had staid two days at this mine, and being intent upon returning with his men to the sea-side, he met with a body of Spaniards on the way, waiting for his coming, and making a mean, as if they would, now upon his return, make amends for the fault they had committed, in not preventing his descent. Their commander sent a trumpet to captain Grognet, to know if he were minded to fight, who being answered, that he desired nothing more : the Spaniards sent a second time to tell him, that if he would give up his prisoners, that they would grant him free passage ; but he boldly answered, That, if they desired to have them, they must come and fetch them by the help of their arms ; and, -as for the passage, he would open his way through in spite of them. That, having made themselves ready, the Spaniards had not the courage to stay for them, contenting themselves only with firing a few musquets at a distance, and so fairly took to their heels, while he pursued his march towards his canoes,



which had, as good luck would have it, been left in a place where the renegadoes could not shew them to the enemy.

He told us moreover, that, some time after his return from that mine, they had been at Pueblo Viego, by the way of a river that runs not above four leagues, and discharges herself into the bay of Napalla; that they had surprized the town, and that, after having rested there for some days, as they were coming back to rejoin their canoes, they had met with an ambuscade laid for them under the covert of a retrenchment, guarded by six hundred men out of the garrison of Realeguo, which began to be inhabited again, with whom they had fought a long time: but, finding the Spaniards stood to it more tightly than ordinary, they threw themselves into their retrenchment, where, killing all about them that made any resistance, they wrought a great slaughter amongst them; that one part of them continued prisoners, while the other fled without any more ado, and forsook their retrenchments as well as the three colours they had set up there: that the free-booters had lost no more than three men, but that the Spaniards in the heat of the action killed several prisoners of the one and the other sex, which the other had brought away from the town, who after this went on board their vessels: that some months after, not concurring with a design which fourscore-and-five of his men had taken, of going down towards the isles of Calynfornia, he had resolved with the sixty that remained with him to go up towards Panama, where happening, as I have told you, to meet us, we gave both him and his men room in our ships, where we learned this whole relation from them.

On the thirtieth we quitted our ships, and went in our canoes into several rivers which discharge themselves

themselves into this bay of Caldaïra ; and, amongst the rest, into a very fine one, whereon we went up ten leagues, in all which space we always found her of the same depth and breadth. Several Spaniards told us, that, a matter of forty or fifty leagues higher, there was a mountain, from whence arises the spring of this river ; and, on the other side of the same mountain, arises also a spring, from which runs the river St. John, that discharges itself into the North-sea at the White Point.

We took a large canoe, laden with tallow, in this river, which some time after was of great use to us, by way of food, as we went to Queaquilla : we also found some hatto's on this river's side, where we refreshed ourselves till the sixth of February, when we returned on board our ships. On the twelfth we departed, in order to go the third time and visit Nicoya ; we arrived there next day in the evening, and presently detached several parties to get us intelligence concerning the Spaniards, who never appeared since they had threatened us with their succours, instead of the ransom we required of them for saving their town, which they still refusing to satisfy us for, we burnt it this third time, and, on the seventeenth, went our ways.

But though we were forced to chastise the Spaniards in this manner, we shewed ourselves very exact in the preservation of the churches, into which we carried the pictures and images of the saints which we found in particular houses, that they might not be exposed to the rage and burning of the English, who were not much pleased with these sorts of precautions ; they being men that took more satisfaction and pleasure to see one church burnt, than all the houses of America put together. But, as it was our turn now to be the stronger party, they durst do nothing that derogated from that respect we bore to all those things.

Nicoya was a small town, pleasant enough taken altogether; its churches are very fine, and the houses as ill built; they have a pretty river there, that runs about one half of the town round; but, when one is within, you cannot know which way it is you have entered, nor how to go out, because of the height of the mountains wherewith it is surrounded every way.

We were no sooner gone from this town, but the Spaniards sent to set fire to the roads through which we were to pass, which yet we happily escaped, because they had but just begun to do it: we took one of their men who was hemmed in between us and the five, and who conducted us to several Estancia's, from which we did not return before the twentieth. And on the twenty-second we put forty prisoners ashore, who were too chargeable to be kept on board with us.

Some men perhaps may be amazed at what I have said concerning the burning of the roads, but they would be much more so, had they seen it, as we have done: there were two sorts of places where this burning was wont to be practised, to wit, in the savana's and woods: when the former were set on fire, whose grass was almost as high as our heads, and also as dry, in a manner, as powder, we found ourselves so besieged on the right and left side of the road with the flame, that it made us feel it to some purpose, though the same were of no long duration: but when these roads lead through covert and woody countries, as in the present occasion whereof I am speaking, and that once fire be set thereunto, one may see, according to the course of the wind, the country for several leagues burnt in a little time, to which the dryness of things doth very much contribute, the sun being exceeding hot at that season.

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On the twenty-third we sent our quarter-master on board the English, to make an agreement with them: we proposed to go in conjunction with them to take Queaquilla (where the Spaniards drove a great trade by sea) upon condition that, if we took two ships, we should cast lots who should choose, and that, in case there were but one taken, that then we would put fifty men of each nation on board her, till such time as we could take another, which they would not agree to, as insisting upon the first choice: so that, seeing we could not bring them to comply, we parted as well from them as from captain Grognet and fifty of our men who staid on board him; so that they had an hundred and forty-two men in their ship, and we an hundred and sixty-two in our frigate and long bark.

On the twenty-fourth we weighed, and set sail for Queaquilla, which is the first maritime town on the south coast, as you go thither from Panama; we made all the sail we could to get thither before the English, who had formed the same design as we had done; we lay by till the twenty-fifth to get out of the bay, and, in passing from the White Cape, we steered S. S. W. S. and by S. W. and directly S. to the twenty-eighth in the evening, that we had on our starboard-side a W. N. W. wind, bearing us to the S. which lasted till the twenty-ninth, when we were becalmed in the night. On the first of March towards noon arose a pretty fresh gale from the north, which made us bear S. S. W. and S. S. E. till the fourth in the morning, when an easterly breeze took us, and made us bear south; on the fifth arose a N. W. wind; and on the eighth at noon we passed the equinoctial line, leaving the isles of Galapa, which are below to the west, a dozen leagues to leeward.

These are eight islands that stand N. and S. of the White Cape, and E. and W. from Queaquilla ; they are full of sea tortoises, that land there every hour of the day, and you cannot find a place to tread on or walk along in the woods, for the great number of land tortoises, lizards, and agoutils that retire thither : the sea thereabouts is also so fruitful in the production of fish, that they come to the very sands to die there ; but these advantages, on the other hand, are encountered with the want of water, whereof these islands are entirely destitute.

The wind, towards evening, came to N. N. E. and made us bear E. and by S. E. to keep to the continent ; the weather, on the tenth in the morning, grew very dark, and, we having a southerly blast, we bore east, and E. by S. E. till the eleventh, when we were becalmed. On the thirteenth arose an east wind, and we bore to the S. S. E. upon a tack, and N. N. E. and then lay by for some time, because we did not know the currents : on the fourteenth, having a N. E. wind, we bore E. S. E. and accordingly, as it blew fresh, we steered E. and by S. E. and E. On the fifteenth, two hours before day-light, we had a storm, and then a S. wind ; we steered east all that day, but we had such bad weather the following night, that we could not carry our sails ; next day about noon the weather grew better, and an easterly breeze presented ; we lay by till the eighteenth at noon, when we discovered a ship to windward of us, to whom we gave chase till the evening ; she proved to be the English ship that had parted from us when we came out of the bay of Caldaïra, who, knowing who we were, put into the cape. We came to leeward of her, but she spread out her sails, and got to leeward of us. After we had given one another this salutation, we put out for two hours to see which sailed best, but  
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knowing at last they were the better sailors, and fearing they might reach Queaquilla before us, we desired them to join with us in our design, to which when they agreed, we set sail together; we found ourselves much perplexed to know what latitude we might be in, since we had not seen the sun for ten days together; but it happily fell out, that it appeared on the nineteenth: our pilots computed we might be about twenty-five leagues to windward of Queaquilla, and sixty leagues from land; but the winds varied to that degree, that we could make no way, and many times went contrary.

On the twentieth we had a west wind, and steered E. and by S. E. till the twenty-first, when we were becalmed: on the twenty-fourth arose a S. wind, and on the twenty-sixth an easterly breeze; at last, the wind persisting to be contrary, we were reduced to great want of victuals, for we had already been upon our passage longer than our provision would allow us: to which we may add, that fish had, till now, been so scarce and hard to catch, that we had but little support from them: so that, having on the twenty-eighth taken an account of the remainder of our victualling, we were forced to retrench ourselves so far, as to eat but once in forty-eight hours: we also wanted water, and, had it not been for the help of rain, we had certainly died of thirst; but what made us amends for one part of our wants was, that we found ourselves, all of a sudden, in a kingdom of large fishes, such as emperors, tunnies, germons, galdenies, negroes, bonitoes, and several others, to whom we gave no quarter, no more than to the sea-wolves, who, for all their ill smell, could not escape us. During that time we bore to the N. E. the wind not allowing us to keep on our designed course, that, if the worst came to the worst, we might, by this course, reach the isle of St. John, pursuant to

the design we had formed, upon meeting with this contrary wind, of putting in there, in case the same continued all the way: on the twenty-ninth, after we had taken the latitude, our pilots computed us to be opposite the isle of Platta, thirty leagues to leeward of Queaquilla: on the thirtieth, being Easter-day, we were but one degree north-latitude; in the twilight the wind began to blow fresh, and bore us E. N. E. Next day the wind came S. S. W. we steering east, east and by south-east, and E. S. E. On the third of April we were becalmed; and as we had for the space of two days, by the computation of our pilots, failed towards land, they were of opinion that the currents deceived them, of which we made ourselves satisfied by the following manner: on the fourth, the weather being very calm, we furled our sails, and put out one of our periaugues, about whose fore-castle we spun sixty fathom of our smallest rope, made fast unto a grappling-iron, and, from that coast she made from, the tide ran along her side with as much swiftness as the current of a river, and bore to the N. E. On the fifth we caulked our ships; towards midnight a S. W. wind presented itself, and we bore S. E.

On the sixth in the morning we discovered land both to windward and leeward of us; we veered to, lest we should be brought too near, and steered S. On the eighth we were about four or five leagues off, and our coasting pilots knew the place to be cape Pastao, which is under the Line thirty leagues to leeward of the isle of Platta; we had all hands aloft, and steered S. On the ninth we bore to the S. S. E. till the evening, and to the S. W. till ten at night, when we steered to the S. S. E. and on the eleventh we were got to the height of the isle of Platta, eighteen leagues out at sea.

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On the twelfth at noon we saw the point of Sancta Helena, which is fifteen leagues to leeward of Queaquilla, and forms the beginning of the bay that bears the name of that town. About twelve at night we saw fire to windward of us; we lay by till break of day, when we discovered a ship three leagues to windward of us, and, as we were becalmed, we sent three periaugues to know what she was; they found her to be a prize, laden with wine and corn, which captain David had taken as she came out of Nasca, and which was separated from him; he had put eight Englishmen on board to conduct her, who were to have their rendezvous, in case of a separation, at the isle of Platta: these men told us, that, after they had left St. John's island, they made several descents, and in several parts of that country, among others, at Sagua, Arrica, and Pisca; that, in the last of these places, a relation of the vice-roy of Lima came at the head of eight hundred men to attack them with sword in hand, but that they were vigorously repulsed; that they had also taken a great many ships, which, when they had pillaged, they let go again, so that, finding they had got to the value of five thousand pieces of eight a man, they had resolved to return to the North-sea, and that, as they sailed away for the streights of Magellan, they fell to gaming, whereat many lost all they had got; that they had anchored in the road which leads to the isles of Dom Fernandez, that stand upon the brink of the streight, to which place came captain Willnet, an Englishman, who had left them long before, and was come thither upon the same design with themselves, of repassing into the North-seas by the same streights; but that captain David had altered his resolution, for that those of his crew, who had lost their money, were not willing to leave those seas, nor the ship, till they

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had taken another : that, as for those who had won, they went on board captain Willnet, out of which ship went also, at the same time, such of his crew as were without money, in order to go and get some with captain David, and that so they were come back into the South-sea, to the number of sixty English and twenty French, as Willnet was gone through the streight for the North-sea ; that captain Peter Henry was gone for the East-Indies, presently after captain Suams ; and lastly, they told us (though we had been informed thereof before) that the Spanish fleet was a careening at Puerto Callao, which, as I have already said, is the place of embarking that belongs to Lima.

As these eight Englishmen did not think that captain David's frigate would rejoin them so quickly at the place of rendezvous, they proposed going with us to Queaquilla ; which we so much the more willingly agreed to, in that they gave us a share of their victuals and drink, and a little revived amongst us that usual merriment, that had now for some time been exiled from us by the abstinences we were forced to undergo, wherewith we were extremely weakened ; then we sailed all night in their company, steering S. E. and by E.

On the fourteenth we furled all our sails for fear of being discovered from land, near unto which we were : about two arose a fog, by favour whereof we made use of our main-sail of all, as well to come ready rigged into the bay, which is thirty leagues in length, as to get to windward of the river Queaquilla, and to spare ourselves also the labour of rowing so much, for, being so extraordinary weak, we had not strength to do it.

We steered all night S. E. and on the fifteenth discovered the White Cape, which is the windward cape of this bay ; about ten in the morning, we embarked

barked to the number of two hundred and sixty men on board our canoes, after having given our ships orders to lay by in the bay, till they heard news from us. We steered all day long for the island Sancta Clara, with which we came up at sun-setting; this little island is in reality nothing else but a rock, standing E. and W. six leagues distant from the continent; we were obliged to cast anchor with all the tides contrary to us, it being impossible to put into this bay against the currents, where we found six fathom water: and on the sixteenth we found ourselves between Sancta Clara and la Puna, about five leagues from the shore.

La Puna is a very pretty island, and may be discovered at a great distance at sea, because of the form of it, resembling a cardinal's cap; it is twenty leagues in circumference, and stands E. and W. two leagues from the continent, and over-against the mouth of the river Queaquilla: there is a large borough built upon it, where, in former times, were kept the king of Spain's magazines. Great ships, that is, such as are two or three deck'd ones, that cannot come into the river, anchor between it and the island: we hid ourselves in this island all day, and that with the good luck of not being discovered by the centinels, who were there to the number of forty of them, though we knew nothing of it; we departed in the evening, and got more southerly, that we might not be discovered from the continent.

On the seventeenth we hid ourselves again in a covert place upon the same island; where, after we had got an exact account from our prisoners of the state, situation, and disposition of the town of Queaquilla, which we were about to go and take, we disposed of our forces in the following order: there were fifty men making the forlorn hope, led by captain

tain Picard, who commanded our frigate, to attack the great fort; fourscore grenadiers, commanded by the captain of our bark, were to be in the nature of reserves, and to serve any where, as there should be occasion for them; captain Grognet with the main body was to make himself master of the town and port; and captain George Hewit, who was commander of the English ship, with fifty of his men, was to attack the little fort, and a thousand pieces of eight was promised to any one of the ensigns, whereof I was one, that should pitch the first colours upon the great fort. Things being thus regulated, we left our covert in the evening, believing we might be able to enter into the river of Queaquilla that night, before day-light appeared; but, for all that, all we could do was to gain one of the points of the island, which is over-against the river, for we could have the advantage of the tides coming in but for three hours, which was the reason that on the eighteenth, as we put off again, that we might the more readily get under the covert of the island, day overtook us, and so discovered us to a centinel, who set a cottage on fire as a signal to the other centinels that were posted at convenient distances on both sides the river, that he saw us, that so these might advertise the town of it: as soon as we got ashore, we marched cross a wood to get to the said fire, where we found some of those that had kindled it; whereof two were killed as they fled to save themselves, and a third was taken, but we could get no intelligence from him, for he was but a little boy.

This day we discovered a ship entering into the river; we let her pass, being unwilling to come out from under our covert to fall upon her, for fear of being discovered by those on the main land, who, we supposed, knew nothing of us, because the inhabitants of Queaquilla had not answered the fire-signal

signal which the centinel of la Puna had given them. Upon the approach of night we made ready, and entered into the river of Queaquilla by one of the two mouths we found there, and by which goes in and out with the tide so rapid a current, that it is enough to carry a canoe two leagues in an hour, so that we made four in the space of two hours.

There are two very fine islands in the two largest parts of this river (which may be about half a league over) under the covert whereof we hid ourselves on the nineteenth all day long. We made ready in the evening, and had the pleasure to be carried up by the current, without the use of our oars, for fear lest the centinels, who are always placed on this river's sides, should hear the noise of our rowing: the design of our guide was to pass by and land beyond the town, because he knew it was weaker, and worse guarded on that side than on the other; but his project failed him, for the tide, now going out, was as injurious to us, as before it had been favourable, and forced us to go ashore, two hours before day, within cannon-shot on this side the town, from whence we discovered a great many lights, which they usually keep in their houses all night long.

This place, where we landed, is a country full of water and shrubs, across which we were forced to cut our way with our sabres; but we did not know we were unhappily landed over-against a centinel, nor that, half an hour after that, one of our men, who was left behind to look after our canoes, struck fire to light his pipe with, which he rashly did, contrary to the express prohibition we had given him; which being perceived by that centinel, he made no doubt but there must be enemies near, because the Spaniards, upon pain of death, forbid their people to strike fire in the night; insomuch that he presently discharged a small patereroe, to give the fort notice  
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of it, who readily answered the same with a whole discharge of their cannon. Being overtaken at that instant of time with a storm of rain, we were obliged to put in for shelter into a great house we found before us, to light the grenadiers matches, and wait till day appeared; during which space the enemy fired continually from the town, to frighten and let us understand they were ready to receive us.

On the twentieth at break of day we marched out in order towards the town, with our drums beating and colours flying; and, upon our approach, found ourselves stopped by seven hundred men, who attacked us from under the covert of a wall four foot and a half high, and of a ditch, wherewith the same was encompassed towards the river's side, which made us presently suppose it to be their fort, having had no good intelligence of the situation of the place. They did all they could to repulse us, and presently killed some of our men. Being encouraged with this little advantage, they had the boldness to sally out upon us with sword in hand; but, seeing we gave them a most vigorous reception, they fled without any more ado, and contented themselves with breaking down the bridges, to hinder us from advancing: but this could not prevent our crossing the ditch, and getting to the foot of the wall, whereof we rendered ourselves masters, in spite of all the resistance made by them, who were not proof against our granadoes, that drove them into the very houses, which are all of them built on purpose for places of defence, in case they be attacked, and from whence in a short time we also drove them. They fled to the place of arms, and intrenched themselves in a strong case, which we call a redoubt, and which, when they had defended for an hour's time, they were all forced to abandon, insomuch that we pursued them from fort to fort, till we came to a third, which is the greatest  
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and most considerable of them all : here they defended themselves a long time ; for they fired continually upon us, by favour of the smoke of their cannon, which hindered us from seeing them. When we were got to the foot of the pallisadoes, they sallied out again with sword in hand, and, having wounded some of our men, they took one of them prisoner ; but we quickly made them leave him, and to run back into their fort, after they had lost a great many men. At last, being weary with about eleven hours fight, and our powder being now almost spent, we redoubled our efforts in such a manner, that we broke in upon them, and made ourselves masters of this last fort, but not without loss on our side, since we had nine men killed, and a dozen wounded. We sent out several parties at the same time to pursue those that fled, who were still in sight of us, while the other Roman Catholicks went to sing *Te Deum* in the great church, after we had first put a garrison into the fort.

The town of Queaquilla is almost built round about a little mountain, whereon stand those three forts, two whereof are commanded by the third, which is the largest, and all of them command the town. The greatest, which is that against which we had most to do, is no where strong, but to the river-ward, and the two lesser ones are upon the descent of an hill, which also looks towards the river, and are each of them surrounded with a thin but very high wall on the outside ; we found none but patereroes to defend it : there is a communication between these last two, and the other by a covert-way, on each side whereof are two rows of pallisadoes filled with earth, and defended also with patereroes. In the great fort, which is also beset with pallisadoes, we found seven pieces of cannon, carrying from twelve to eighteen pound ball ; but they could not, because of the elevation

elevation of the place, bring their guns to bear low enough to incommode those that were in the town, unless, by thundering against the houses, they should be buried in the ruins of them. The magazines of powder stand in the middle of the fort, and are slightly enough built. The town, as I have observed, is to the river-ward, encompassed with a wall, four feet and a half high, and three feet thick: the streets are very straight: the parish churches, as well as the convents, are very curiously built; the houses are almost all built with boards, and founded upon piles, for that in the rainy time of the year, which continues from the beginning of January to the end of April, they are so incommoded, as to be forced to make bridges, and raise banks of earth in all the streets, to keep off the water and mud. Their chief commodity is cocoa, of which they make chocolate. We took seven hundred prisoners of both sexes in this place, and amongst the rest was the governor and his family: he was wounded, as were several officers and men of quality, who fought more bravely than five thousand other men that defended the place.

We found in the place several sorts of merchandises, a great many pearls and precious stones, a prodigious quantity of silver plate, and seventy thousand pieces of eight at least; though there were three millions among them when we came thither: but, as we were all wholly taken up to make ourselves masters of the forts, they laid hold of that opportunity to make their escapes along the river, with the greatest part of their most valuable moveables: when our canoes were come to anchor under the town, we were not backward to send four of them away, in pursuit of the shallops that carried the said riches of the town away, but then it was too late: they only took twenty-two thousand pieces of eight, and

and a vermilion eagle gilt, that had served for a tabernacle to some church, weighing sixty-eight pounds, and was exceeding rare, as well for the workmanship, as two great rocks of emeralds, wherewith the eyes of it were made: there were fourteen barks in the port, with the gallies, against whom we fought at Pueblo Nuevo, and two of the king of Spain's ships upon the stocks, almost finished: we agreed with the governor in the evening about the price of his family's, the town, fort, cannon, and ships ransoms, they being to give us a million of pieces of eight in gold, and four hundred sacks of corn; and, in order to forward the payment of the said ransom, which was to be brought from the town of Quitto, eight leagues off, he desired us to release their vicar-general, who was a man of great authority and credit amongst them.

We found this governor's house so richly furnished and filled with such precious moveables, that nothing in Europe could be more magnificent: the women in this town are very pretty; but most of the fathers or monks live here at great ease, and in such familiarity with the fair sex, that it is far from being a good pattern and example unto others: the fathers hated us to that degree, that they persuaded the women, who had never seen any free-booters, we were altogether unlike them, that we were not even of human form, and that we would both eat them and their children; which made them conceive so much horror and aversion for us, that they could not be dispossessed thereof, till they came to know us better. But then, I can boldly say, they entertained quite different sentiments of our persons, and have given us frequent instances of so violent a passion as proceeded sometimes even to a degree of folly.

It is not from a chance story that I came to know the impressions wrought in these women, that we were



were men that would eat them ; for, the next day after the taking of the town, a young gentlewoman that waited upon the governess of the place happening to fall into my hands, as I was carrying her away to the place where the rest of the prisoners were kept, and to that end made her walk before me, she turned back, and, with tears in her eyes, told me, in her own language, ‘ Senior, pur l’Amor de Dies ‘ no mi como ;’ that is, ‘ Pray, Sir, for the love of ‘ God do not eat me ;’ whereupon I asked who had told her that we were wont to eat people ; she answered, the fathers, who had also assured them, that we had not human shape, but that we resembled monks.

On the twenty-first some of our men, who had made a fire in the day-time in one of the houses of the town, came to the court of guard in the evening, without extinguishing of it ; so that at night it set the town on fire ; but the fear we were in, lest the same should reach our court of guard, whereon was lodged all the powder in the place, and part of the merchandise and riches of the town, we were obliged to get all carried on board the barks that were in the port, and to bring all our prisoners into the fort ; and, when that was done, we endeavoured to put a stop to the fire, which yet burnt down one third of the town, notwithstanding all the pains we took to put it out.

We returned on the twenty-second in the morning to our court of guard, and fearing lest the Spaniards might refuse to pay the ransom agreed on for the town, because of this accident, we having promised by our treaty with them not to burn it, we took upon us to believe they were the cause of it, and sent them a letter, wherein we gave them to understand we were much surprized at their manner of procedure ; that they should, after our agreement with them,  
come

come with a mischievous intention to burn the merchandise and corn that were of so much use to us, and that we repented we had not left all the town to be burnt : that, if they did not pay us what we had suffered by the fire, we should send them fifty of the prisoners heads : they thereupon excused the matter to us, saying, they must be some rascally spiteful people that had done this, and they would take care to satisfy us.

On the twenty-third the governor furnished us with a coasting pilot, whom we sent in one of our canoes to see for our ships (to whom we had given orders they should lay by in the bay) to bring them to an anchor at the isle of Puna, whither we were to go at our departure from Queaquilla, to wait for the promised ransoms : on the twenty-fourth, finding one of our men was sick with the stench which the dead carcases, to the number of above nine hundred, lying up and down the town, occasioned, we went our ways, after we had first dismounted and nailed up the cannon in the fort, and carried five hundred prisoners, being the best of the inhabitants, along with us, into our barks ; wherein we arrived with them on the twenty-fifth at Puna, where we found our ships ready to cast anchor.

On the second of May captain Grognet died of the wound he had received that day we took the town, when the seven hundred Spaniards opposed our entering the fort, and the same day died four of our men also. On the fourth we sent our galley to the isle of Platta, to see if captain David's frigate was come to rendezvous there.

The time allowed for the payment of the ransom of Queaquilla being expired on the ninth, we granted them four days longer ; but then we began to be weary of this delay, when a Spanish bark, that was wont to carry us provision, brought an officer in  
her,

her, who desired us not to be impatient, for the ransom would be quickly paid : now this dilatoriness made us begin to suspect very much that there was some treachery in the case, and that they entertained us with hopes for no other end than to amuse us, till such time as the enemy were reinforced. And our guess was right enough, as will appear hereafter, insomuch that we were constrained to use such severity towards our prisoners, which we knew would strike a terror into our enemies. We made them throw dice for their lives, and, the lot falling upon the head of four, we cut them off presently, and sent them to Queaquilla in the same vessel that had brought the said officer unto us, by whom we let the tenient understand, that, if the ransom did not come within four days, we would send them the heads of all the rest of the people that were in our power.

Our galley on the fourteenth returned from the isle of Platta, and related that she had been chaced about the point of Sancta Helena by two ships, which she could not discover what they were ; and this made us that evening send out one of our canoes that sailed well, to see what those ships might be : on the sixteenth she found they came to join us, they being captain David's frigate and a prize he had taken after the other had been separated from them, which we met before we went to Queaquilla ; they came with full resolution to make a descent at Paita, in order to get some refreshments for their men who had been wounded in a fight they had had with a Spanish ship called Catalina, which they met fifty leagues to leeward of Lima, and was one of those that we had for so long a time waited for before that town.

This ship Catalina was separated from two more with whom she was returning to the port of Callao, when,

when, unfortunately for her, she met with captain David's frigate, that sailed much better than she, and could have taken her, without making, as he did, two days fight of it, had it not been that the greatest part of his crew, being continually drunk, sailed twenty times to come up close to board her, and suffered themselves to fall to leeward, because of their ill rigging, as often as they found themselves to windward of her ; which being observed by the Spaniards, they thought, by putting up a bloody flag, they would be quickly brought to strike, but therein they were mistaken, and the quite contrary fell out : for David's people growing sober on the third day, and putting their tackle and rigging into better order than before, the Spaniards were so terrified thereat, that they ran ashore, where their ship did not keep whole two hours : David's men, in a canoe, went to save two Spaniards, who were about swimming to land ; and now, having escaped the danger of drowning, told them that their captain, having had his thigh shot off with a cannon ball, had desired his lieutenant before his death to lose no time, but to go without tarrying to acquaint the vice-roy of Lima of the dangerous estate the frigate was reduced to, that he might send without delay to her assistance.

Our canoe, which on the twenty-second came to rejoin us, and gave the foresaid information, brought also along with her captain David's prize, which he had sent to desire us to get a main-mast to be brought him from Queaquilla, as somewhat of our ransom, his having been very much damnified in the last engagement ; and that, till it came, he would cruise without the bay to prevent our being surprized by the Spaniards.

I forgot to take notice that this ship's crew had, at Paita, surprized a courier that was going from  
Quea-

Queaquilla to Lima the third time, to carry the following letter unto the vice-roy; which clearly made out unto us the suspicions we had entertained before, that the Spaniards deferred to pay us the promised ransom, that they might have time to prepare themselves to come and pay us in a sort of coin we had no occasion for, and which we did not require at their hands.

*A letter of the tenient of Queaquilla to the vice-roy of Lima.*

• S I R,

• I AM to inform your excellency the second time,  
 • that the English and French are still at Puna;  
 • it is several days since the term they had allowed us  
 • for the redemption of our prisoners is expired; I  
 • have done it on purpose that your excellency might  
 • gain time. They have sent me four of our people's  
 • heads: I will amuse them with some thousands  
 • of pieces of eight from time to time (though they  
 • have no reason to be weary) while your excellency  
 • may please to come; and, though they should yet  
 • send me fifty heads more, I shall esteem that loss to  
 • be much less prejudicial to us, than to suffer such  
 • evil disposed people to live. Now, Sir, we have  
 • a brave opportunity to get rid of them, provided  
 • your excellency lose no time to do it.'

We could not have received a more certain testimony of the thoughts and designs of our enemies, than those discovered by his letter unto us; so we took our measures accordingly.

## C H A P. V.

*The remaining actions of the free-booters in the South-sea, during 1687.*

THE best winter-quarters which we had met with in these seas, and that of longest duration, was that of the time of our sojourning upon this island of la Puna, where, for the space of thirty odd days that we staid here, we lived mighty well; for, besides the victuals which the Spaniards brought us daily from Queaquilla, we had brought thither ourselves a great many refreshments, neither did we want charms for our ears in this place, for we had all the musick of the town among our prisoners, which consisted of lutes, theorbs, harps, guittars, and other instruments I never saw any where else, wherewith they made a very fine concert.

Some of our men grew very familiar with our women prisoners, who, without offering them any violence, were not sparing of their favours, and made appear, as I have already remarked, that, after they came once to know us, they did not retain all the aversion for us that had been inculcated into them, when we were strangers unto them: all our people were so charmed with this way of living, that they forgot their past miseries, and thought of no more danger from the Spaniards than if they had been in the middle of Paris.

Amongst the rest, myself had one pretty adventure; among the other prisoners we had a young gentlewoman lately become a widow of the treasurer of the town, who was slain when it was taken: now this woman appeared so far comforted for her loss, out of an hard-heartedness they have in this country one for another, that she proposed to hide

me and herself in some corner of the island, till our people were gone, and that then she would bring me to Queaquilla to marry her ; that she would procure me her husband's office, and vest me in his estate, which was very great. When I had returned her thanks for such obliging offers, I gave her to understand that I was afraid her interest had not the mastery over the Spaniards resentments ; and that the wounds they had received from us were yet too fresh and green for them easily to forget them : she went about to cure me of my suspicion, by procuring secretly from the governor and chief officers promises under their hands, how kindly I should be used by them. I confess I was not a little perplexed herewith ; and such pressing testimonies of good-will and friendship towards me, brought me, after a little consultation with myself, into such a quandary, that I did not know which side to close with ; nay, I found myself at length much inclined to close with the offers made me : and I had two powerful reasons to induce me thereunto, one of which was the miserable and languishing life we lead in those places, where we were in perpetual hazard to lose it, which I should be freed from by an advantageous offer of a pretty woman, and a considerable settlement ; the other proceeded from the despair I was in of ever being able to return into my own country, for want of ships fit for that purpose : but, when I began to reflect upon these things with a little more leisure and consideration, and that I revolved with myself, how little trust was to be given to the promises and faith of so perfidious, as well as vindictive a nation as the Spaniards, and more especially towards men in our circumstances, by whom they had been so ill used ; this second reflection carried it against the first, and even all the advantages offered me by this lady : but, however the matter was, I was resolved,

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in spite of the grief and tears of this pretty woman, to prefer the continuance of my troubles (with a ray of hope I had of seeing France again) before the perpetual suspicion I should have had of some treachery designed against me. Thus I rejected her proposals; but so as to assure her I should retain, even as long as I lived, a lively resentment of her affections and good inclinations towards me.

On the twenty-third, we sent one of our canoes to Queaquilla, to carry one of the fathers thither, they being a people as much obeyed and respected by that nation, as the vice-roys themselves. The governor gave this man a full power to act as he pleased, even in opposition to the obstructions which the tenient made against the payment of the ransom aforementioned. After his departure came a bark, which brought us four-and-twenty sacks of meal, and to the value of twenty thousand pieces of eight in gold: they desired us, moreover, to grant them three days time for the payment of the rest; which we allowed them, but withal threatened, upon their failure therein, we should seize upon their fort and burn their town and ships.

Our canoe returned the twenty-fifth, who gave us an account they would pay no more than two-and-twenty thousand pieces of eight for the rest of the ransom, and that the tenient would pursue his prince's orders, who forbade the payment of any: that he had five thousand men at hand, with which he waited, to see if we would put our threats in execution. Upon this fierce and bold answer, we had a consultation together whether we should cut off the heads of all the prisoners: the plurality of voices, together with mine, was, that it were better we should go and look after the two-and-twenty thousand pieces of eight, than shed any more blood; seeing also, that, our design being to leave these seas, we had no fur-



ther occasion for these executions, to make us be feared; and that, after all, we were but too well assured by the tenient's letter, that the Spaniards were setting all things in order, to come and aft their utmost efforts against us, which, perhaps, would administer matter of repentance unto us, if we still persisted in our resolution: that therefore we ought to accept of the offer, and to give up unto them no other than the meanest of the prisoners, without divesting ourselves of those of quality, who would be a security unto us for the rest: that, while we waited for them, it was our best way to take them along with us, and put off from the shore, steering towards the point of St. Helena, where we should be out of danger of the surprizes of our enemies, whose motions we could every way discover at a distance. Things being thus concluded on, we sent our canoe to Queaquilla, who returned again the twenty-fifth, and told us, that next day the Spaniards would, without fail, bring us the two-and-twenty thousand pieces of eight to the isle of Puna, where we then were.

We put, the same day, fifty of our best prisoners on board our ships; and, at the same time, weighed anchor, and quitted our good winter quarters, where we left the rest of our prisoners, with two canoes to guard them, and to wait for the money promised us; giving our men orders to tell those that brought it, that they should send us the remainder of what was agreed on to the point of St. Helena; and, upon default thereof, that they should see the people no more. Our canoes, on the twenty-sixth in the evening, came to join us, as we lay by to get out of this bay, and brought us the two-and-twenty thousand pieces of eight.

Next night the English frigate's prize, who thought we lay still at anchor at la Puna (from whence she met  
us

us about eight leagues) came to give us notice, that two Spanish armadilla's waited our coming out of the bay, and that David's frigate lay by, as they did, to stay for us : on the twenty-seventh by break of day we discovered them between the isle of St. Clare and the point of St. Helena, to the windward of us. Captain David's frigate, upon sight of us, made up presently to us, and, having got all together, we consulted what we were best to do : we put four-score of our men on board him, because he had not number enough of his own to manage his guns ; and, as we had not men enough to manage our prizes, we reserved only but two ships, and a long bark, and sent the rest with our periaugues upon the flats, where the Spanish ships could not come, as drawing more water than they did. We lay by till noon, to get the weather-gage, which yet we could not do, because at this time of the year the winds blow from the sea, and are very fixed, and that besides, as we came out of the bottom of the bay, we could not well hope to gain it, the Spaniards being at the mouth thereof.

About noon our enemies came upon us, and so we fought till the evening with our cannon, which the Spaniards call gallant fighting, without much hurting of one another : we cast anchor upon the approach of night, as they did also about a league to the windward of us : we fired a gun for our prizes to come up, which they did, and cast anchor near us, for their greater security.

We sent them back about an hour before day-light to their former station, and, as soon as ever light appeared, we made ready, and the Spaniards did the same ; but no sooner were we got under sail, but we were becalmed : unhappily it fell out that we were without our periaugues to row us to windward, because we had sent them back with our prizes, to

avoid the trouble they might have caused us; and therefore all we could do, now, was to make use of our little canoes, which we had still with us; the Spaniards also rowed to the windward to dispute the matter with us; however, with much ado, we got a cannon-shot to the windward of them; but, as they knew better how to bear close up to the wind in these seas than we, in half an hour's time they recovered the weather gage of us. We lay by till two in the afternoon, and seeing we could do no good with them, we put in to the cape, to wait for two of our ships that were behind. In the mean time these armadilla's bore up to us, and, when they had got within a good cannon-shot, we fought till it was dark night; they very much shattered us; yet wounded but one man; we anchored in the evening, as we had done the day before, and they did the same also to the windward of us.

We remained at anchor on the twenty-ninth, as well as they, till three in the afternoon, when they weighed to go and attack the biggest of our prizes, because she had anchored only on the side of the shallows, and we made ready to defend her: we came to such a close fight with them, that all our small arms, as well as great guns, came into play on both sides; yet we lost not one man, though they on their side had a great many killed, which we knew by the blood that ran out of their skupper-holes, and at our parting they cried, *A la mañana la partida*, that is, To-morrow to it again.

On the thirtieth both they and we prepared to put out of the bay, and the Spaniards, who were still to windward, did all they could to hinder us to get the weather-gage. We came to an anchor towards noon, to disarm one of our prizes that failed very badly, and to fit up another in the room of her, which captain David gave us, as well as the twenty French-  
men

men that made part of his crew, and were minded to leave him. We wrought all night to unrig her, and, when we had so done, we sent her into the bottom. We put ourselves under sail on the thirty-first, and about two in the afternoon came to an anchor, because of the tide's being against us: presently after the two armadilla's came up with us, which made us weigh, and then to put in at the cape, to wait for one of our prizes that was far from us, which not being able to join us as soon as the enemy, her crew left her, and went into her periaugue, wherein they came to throw themselves on board one of our men of war: they had left four Spaniards in that same prize, who, by the favour of a good wind, put back into the river of Queaquilla, where they made their escape, and, what was worst of all, took along with them almost all our provisions that was in her.

When we were got within half cannon-shot of our enemies ships, we fired upon one another, and that without intermission, till an hour within night: we received several cannon-shot in our sides during this engagement, had almost all our tackle spoiled, and our sails sifted, because the Spaniards did all that ever they could to bring our masts by the board; and indeed the fore-mast of the frigate received five cannon-shot, and the main-mast three, but they came only slanting, and, as good luck would have it, we had not one man killed or wounded.

We saw the enemy on the first of June, by break of day, a league's distance from us; we were not slow to do all we could to put out: about ten they lengthened their boltspring sails, and returned upon us; but, as we saw them bear up towards our frigate, we thought they intended to board her, and this made us presently put into her the crew of our long-bark, by way of reinforcement. As soon as

ever the Spaniards were come up, they put out their Burgundian colours, having till then put out none: when we were come pretty near, they gave us a volley of musquet-shot, together with a discharge of their cannon, laden with cartouches; but we got clear of them, so that they could not come to grapple with us.

After we had left them to make all the fire they could, we gave them a discharge of all our cannon, and a full volley with our small arms in our turn, and then we were ready to board them; but they, finding themselves much damaged, very readily got aloof to hinder us.

They took up an hour's time to refit, then bore up to us again, renewing the fight, which lasted till night; but they had been so well banged, that they had no mind to feel us this time so near, and that day we had three men wounded.

On the second, by break of day, they were still to the windward of us, at about two leagues distance, and bore up to us; we, having a fresh gale, put into the cape, and, when they were come within a good cannon-shot of us, they plied us very tightly with their great guns, and then approached within a musquet-shot of us, as believing we were now out of condition to make any long resistance: but, as we had a better advantage of using our fustils, we made so great a fire upon them, that they were forced to close up their port-holes, and bear up to the wind. We received sixty cannon-shot this day in our *sides*, whereof two thirds were between wind and water; besides which, all our rigging was torn, and we had two men wounded, whereof myself was one.

About two hours within night they made a shew of coming to board us, but, finding we were as well prepared to receive them by night as by day, they bore upon the wind: we spent some part of this night

night at anchor, to stop up our cannon's mouths, which otherwise might have sent us into the deep.

We were astonished next morning at break of day, that we could not set sight on the two armadilla's, with whom we had made ourselves ready to renew the fight; and, in all appearance, they grew weary of it before us, though they had so great an advantage as that of the wind, which yet, as we heard since, could not secure them from losing a great many men, and having their ships at least as much shattered as ours: so that supposing well with ourselves, that they had steered their course to port. Callao, we steered ours for the isle of Platta, where we anchored in the evening, and continued there two days to caulker our ships.

We had, during these several engagements, brought up upon our decks the governor of Queaquilla, and the other chief officers that were our prisoners, that they might be witnesses of the vigour with which our men fought, and the cowardice of their own people, who durst not enter our ships, though they came board and board with us twice.

We weighed on the sixth, and sailed along the coast, that we might find a convenient place to take in water. This coast is very level, safe, and very good to land upon, which is the reason that the same is throughout, as far as Barbacoa, inhabited by the Spaniards. We anchored between cape Pastoa and that of St. Francisco. On the tenth we put our prisoners ashore, and gave them their liberty, being not able to go to the point of St. Helena, to see whether their ransom was come, which I suppose would have been to little purpose, for those two armadilla's had been sent to pay us with cannon-ball.

On the eleventh we went about dividing the gold, precious stones, and pearls we had found in Queaquilla; but as these things could not be divided,

nor easily valued, the gold not being coined, and the stones of different value, we put up all by way of auction, that those who had silver might bid for them, and so every man have his part according as he bade; and as there were several among us who, having got considerable sums of money at play, were sure, and if it pleased God they should once get safe out of these seas, their way must be no other than over land, where the weight of their silver must hinder or retard their going; they bid for those jewels that kept but little room, and weighed not much, so excessive a price, that the gold alone that was coined was worth eighty and an hundred pieces of eight an ounce, and each pistole fifteen of the said pieces: but, though these things were sold so dear, we made no more a division of the booty of that town, than what came to four hundred pieces of eight a man; the whole might amount to about five hundred thousand pieces of eight, or fifteen hundred thousand livres; which money, as we were out of hopes to carry along with us, served us to play for on board our ships for our diversion: so that, in the descents we made, we sought now for nothing but gold and precious stones, which we did not find so plentifully as silver; of which, I must be plain, we made so little account, that we thought it not worth our while to take along with us a great quantity of plate and other things, whereof the town of Queaquilla was full: we also neglected to send a canoe after the hundred caons of coined silver, each consisting of eleven thousand pieces of eight, which the Spaniards had sent away to the other side of the river, when we were engaged with them, and which were yet in sight of us when the fight was over. There is such a vast quantity of that rich metal in this country, that most of those things we make in France out of steel, copper, and iron, are  
made

made by them in silver : this indifference in us gave some of their people many times occasion to inter-mix with us, to pillage from their own fellow-citizens what we neglected, and of which they were not so squeamish as we, or rather so put to it for the carriage of them, they being in their own country, and we far from ours.

On the twelfth captain David's frigate left us, he designing to go and careen at the isles of Galapas, and then to sail away for the streight of Magellan, in order to return to the North-sea ; but, as for us, our vessels were so small, and withal so bad, that it was impossible we should get up higher than the coast of Peru ; neither could they also contain such a quantity of water as we had occasion for, which is very hard to come by on that coast, where you must go two or three leagues up the country before you can meet with any. These difficulties made us resolve to return to the western coast, that so we might endeavour to find out a way also to return to the North-sea, but that must be other than over land.

Before I leave this coast, I cannot but take notice, that Peru is one of the richest countries in the world, not only in respect to the great quantity of gold and silver which the Spaniards dig out of the mines they possess there, but also upon account of the great fertility of the earth, that produceth to the tillers of it three crops every year, as well of corn as wine ; and that, besides those fruits that are peculiar to all America, you have also many of those here which grow in France, insomuch that this great diversity of species is the occasion that you have continual supplies of fresh fruits in all the seasons of the year.

The inhabitants of this country reckon but two seasons, which divide the whole year into a summer of nine months, and a winter of three, during which it freezes oftentimes very hard on the moun-



tains, though the same is hardly discernible in the plains: amongst their other cattle they breed sheep, that weigh two hundred and fifty, or three hundred pounds weight: these animals are of great use to them, having the very same instinct as camels. They make them carry jars of water, oil, or wine, which are a sort of earthen-ware made like sugar-pans, two of which hold about five-and-thirty quarts, and, when empty, weigh as much as the liquor that fills them: when they are minded to fill them, these sheep will kneel down, and, as soon as they are full, get up very gently; when they are come to the place whither they are to carry them, they lay them down in the same manner, and continue till they are discharged of their burthen.

We weighed on the thirteenth, and on the fifteenth anchored twenty leagues to the windward of Point Mangla; we put ashore in a canoe, where we surprized a watch of fifteen Spanish soldiers, who were set upon the side of a curious river: the entertainment we gave them forced them to own unto us, that they were to guard the river, which they called *Emeralda*, because of the many rocks, or great pieces of emeralds which their countrymen take up there; and that we might, in the space of eight hours, go very easily from the mouth of it in our canoes, to surprize the town of *Quitto*, but not so by land, because then we must fetch a compass of fourscore leagues, through a country full of inhabitants, who would not fail to oppose us; and for these reasons it was that they endeavoured all they could to keep from strangers the knowledge of these advantages: this town of *Quitto* is well peopled, and was formerly the capital of the kingdom that bears its name, but now it depends upon the government of the vice-roy of *Lima*.

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On the seventeenth we got ready and sailed away for the isle dell Gallo, which stands at the mouth of the little bay of Barbacoa, an hundred leagues to the leeward of Queaquilla. On the nineteenth we discovered, by break of day, a ship whom we chased, and, towards ten in the forenoon, took her; she was a bark come from Panama to go and buy negroes, which the English in Jamaica send them by the way of Puerto Bello, and which they were going to trade with at Paitas; they got very considerably by these blacks, for the English sell them to the Spaniards for four and five hundred pieces of eight a man, and are worth three and four hundred with them. We anchored on the twentieth at the isle of Gallapo, where we examined the prisoners we had taken in the said bark, who told us, that the galley of Panama was gone into the bay of Mapalla, in quest of the Frenchmen that were gone ashore upon those islands, which, I have already said, are there; and that, in her return, she was to carry the president of Guatemala and his wife to Panama.

On the twenty-fifth we weighed and sailed for the isle Cocas, which stands N. and S. of Realeguo, an hundred leagues distance: we had a S. W. wind, and sailed W. N. W. On the thirtieth we discovered land, we pinched upon the wind, that we might know what place it was; we found towards evening, it was the isle of Mapalla, that stands forty leagues southwards of that of St. John's, and from thence we sailed to the bay of Mapalla, instead of going to the isle of Cocas, from whence the wind blew, and consequently was contrary to us.

From this day forward to the eleventh of July, we had the same S. W. wind, which allayed not, but when it blew from the E. and S. On the thirteenth we took our latitude, and found we were thirty leagues out at sea from Realeguo, and steered  
north

north to get to land : on the sixteenth at noon we discovered the mountains, and put into the cape for fear of being observed : on the seventeenth we sent two of our canoes to endeavour to take some one prisoner, that so we might know how things were before we brought our ships into the bay.

In the evening our canoes, having discovered what coast it was, returned, and told it was St. Michael's bay, whither the currents had driven us in making the cape, and which we took for that of Mapalla, whither we would have gone, and which stands fourteen leagues to windward of the former, which might the more easily have been mistaken from the sea, in that the mountains of these two bays are very like one another. We lay by to windward of it in the night ; and on the eighteenth put out our canoes, and, continuing at the cape till the twentieth, we made use of them to go and join our friends at one of the islands : as we entered in on the twenty-third, we were taken with a breeze of wind that separated us from one another ; and, of five sail whereof our fleet consisted, we had no more than two of the least and weakest of our ships left together ; but we did not lose sight of the other three, though they were got very far to leeward, and overtaken with a calm. In the mean time we anchored at the isle of Tigers, which is the nearest to the mouth of it.

On the twenty-fourth about eight in the morning we discovered three sail of ships that doubled the point of Harina, which is to the windward of that bay, and ten leagues to the leeward of Realeguo ; we presently fired a paterero to call in our canoes who were ashore to take in water : as soon as they were come on board, we made ready and bore up to those ships with a full wind, though we had then but very little of it.

Those

Those three vessels, which were a galley and two periaugues, bore also towards us, though they saw us not ; but, as soon as we were got out and discovered by them, they doubled the cape upon us with their sails and oars, and the two periaugues, that sailed better than the galley, got behind us, and fired fifteen cannon-shot upon us ; but as our arms could reach them, these periaugues were forced to fall a-stern, and to wait for their galley : when she had joined them, they held a council, and then put out to attack us ; our ships, not being able to give us any relief, put to the cape to wait for us ; we fought them all along till we had rejoined our vessels, which we did about two in the afternoon, when the Spaniards left us, to go bury their dead upon the island where we had been to take in water when we first discovered them : they did us some damage in our main-mast and rigging, and wounded few of our men : towards evening a wind arose from the sea, and we sailed in quest of them, but they kept to the shore.

On the twenty-fifth we passed round the island in search for our canoes, which the enemies galley fought for also, rightly imagining they were ashore, as not having seen them with us during the action : about two in the afternoon they discovered us, and, coming out from under their covert, gave us the signal, which we on our part answered ; they had hid themselves there for four hours, expecting our coming, and had a full sight of the engagement, but could not possibly, any more than the rest of our ships, come in to our assistance. The Spaniards, who saw us take them with us, durst not hinder it, though they were at anchor very near them ; then we attempted with one of our ships to board the enemy's galley, but she saved herself upon the flats, where our ships could not come near her. On the twenty-sixth we anchored at an island in the bay, where

where we put two of our vessels to cateen, while the other three guarded them. On the twenty-eighth we saw a canoe under white colours, crossing from the main land to the islands, where one of ours met and took her: it was a Spanish captain, who, believing us to be his own people, came to congratulate the commander upon the victory, which he, from the shore, thought they had got over us. We put him upon the rack, to know whether he came not by some wile or other to draw us into a snare laid for us by the galley, as the Greek captain had formerly done; but he solemnly protested it was not so, and informed us, that there was a periaugue with thirty men in the same bay where we were, who were gone ashore some time since, and had fought in the race of Savannas against six hundred Spaniards, whose captain, called don Albarado, who was accounted the bravest and most valiant man in the province, they had killed; and that, when we had met with their galley and two periaugues, there had eight hundred armed men come, not with a design to look after us, but to fight those thirty Frenchmen, who could not be conquered by his six hundred countrymen; an admirable instance of the valour of the Spaniards in those parts!

The bay of Mapalla is a very curious place, and full of divers great islands, not inferior in beauty to those of Panama: they were formerly inhabited; and there are still three boroughs there which the people have forsaken, by reason of the descents of free-booters. As for anchorage, it is very good here, but no good shelter to be found in this place from any corner of the wind, great blasts whereof come over those great mountains that are at the bottom of it, so that there are very few cables that are proof against them.

On

On the sixth of August, one of our men, who was hunting upon the island where we were careening, found two men who had been there for the space of eight days to observe our motions, and, who taking us to be Spaniards, durst not come near us: they were two Frenchmen belonging to the periaugue, of which the forementioned officer spoke to us, and who had defended themselves so valiantly against the six hundred Spaniards; we found them to be of the number of fourscore and five, who had separated themselves under captain Grognet, to go to California; they presently gave notice to the other eight-and-twenty, who came and joined us; and of whom we learned that they had saved themselves upon this island, after they had been chased a whole night by the Spanish galley, that did not fail so well as their periaugue. They told us also, that they had gone down a matter of forty leagues to the windward of Acapulco, without being able any more than once to go ashore; and that then they ran a great risque, so boisterous is the sea in those parts, wherewith they were so discouraged, that they had forsaken fifty-five of their companions, in order to come and find us out, and left them to continue their course for California.

Having made an end of our careening on the tenth, we made every thing ready for our departure, after we had given those thirty men room in our ships: we sailed from the coast of Acapulco, with a design to find out the other fifty-five men spoken of, who were to make a descent there, and to rid them from a miserable state, whereunto, in all appearance, they had gone to plunge themselves, without any hopes of reprieve; being too small a company to find out provisions (whereof they stood in great need) in the best peopled country upon the continent, where also it could not be believed they could

could arrive, having but a little sorry bark under them, that could not carry them far without splitting in two.

We had, at our departure, an easterly breeze, wherewith we were favoured till we came to the height of Sanfonnat; from the fifteenth to the one-and-twentieth we were becalmed all along in the day-time, and the winds were so high in the nights, that we could not carry our sails; on the twenty-second we had a pretty good gale from the south-east; and on the twenty-seventh we drew near land, to know where we were: we found ourselves to the windward of the bay of Tecoauntepequa, and put out our canoes to go in thither, while, at the same time, we appointed our ships to rendezvous in the port of Vatulco, which is twenty leagues to the leeward: we came very near land in the evening, but the sea runs so high along that coast, that it was impossible to go ashore.

On the twenty-ninth we found an embarking place, where there was a very strong intrenchment, guarded by a considerable number of Spaniards, and, supposing it would cost us dear to go ashore in that place, we sailed two leagues to the leeward, where the sea was somewhat more pacifick, but found here also about three hundred men upon an eminence waiting for us: we detached fifty of ours to go and meet them, but the Spaniards, after having made a foolish discharge, fled; however, we took two of their number, and asked them whither that way led upon which we were; they told us, it would bring us to the town of Tecoauntepequa, according to whose name that bay was called; and that we had but four leagues to it: we lay next night upon the road, under the canopy of heaven, according to our usual custom; next day, which was the thirtieth, we resolved to go to the said town,

town, and directed our course that way in such a manner, that about two in the afternoon we had a sight of the place from an ascent, which is about half a league off.

As it is encompassed and beset every way with eight suburbs, it seemed to be so large, that we were a long time deliberating with ourselves whether so small a number as we were ought to go thither, as being no more than an hundred and fourscore men, whereas there were three thousand of the enemy in the place: in the mean time the extreme necessity we were reduced to, for want of provisions, pressed us to advance, and would not let us deliberate long upon the danger that lay before us, so that, all our apprehensions being reduced to the fear we had of starving to death, we pursued our march to go and confront our enemies.

When we had marched about half an hour, we found ourselves near the town, and upon the brink of a great and very rapid river, which separates it from four of the suburbs that adjoin to it; this river we crossed over, being up in the water to the middle, in spite of the Spaniards, who were intrenched on the other side, to dispute the passage with us, which they were forced to leave open for us, after a good hour's sharp dispute: as soon as we were masters of the intrenchment, we entered the town, where, after we had fought hand in hand with the enemy, like men enraged with hunger, we became masters of the place of arms about four in the afternoon: but our work was not yet done, for the enemy, having again intrenched themselves in a very fine abbey, built in the manner of a platform that commanded the town, we went, to the number of fourscore men, to dislodge them, which was to be dily. executed, that, having chased them thence, we made our court of guard of it, and then every



every one endeavoured to satisfy that hunger wherewith we were extremely pinched.

When we were got into this town we found it yet much more spacious and larger than it appeared to be unto us from the fore-mentioned ascent ; its houses are well built, the streets very strait, and the churches exceeding stately and ornamental. The abbey of St. Francis, from whence we drove the enemy, appeared more like unto a fort than a religious convent, and it was built to serve for that use in case of need.

On the thirty-first we sent to require them to ransom their town, or else we would burn it ; we had no answer returned, which made us conjecture they had a mind to come and attack us ; for which they had so much the more advantage, in that the river, which began, from the time that we passed it, to overflow, was about to hem us in ; wherefore we decamped, and lay in one of the suburbs that stands on the other side, where we continued to the third of September ; when we departed to return to our canoes, without reaping any advantage by the taking of this town : we reembarked on the fifth, and went to join our ships in the port of Vatulco, where we arrived the ninth : on the fifteenth we went off again in our canoes without a guide, and, having landed, marched ten or a dozen leagues up the country, where we took divers villages, and in one of them the old governor of Marida with his family, who was retired to this place, and who promised us a quantity of provisions for his ransom ; in expectation whereof we carried him on ship-board, where we arrived on the twenty-fifth. The same day, about ten in the morning, we discovered a ship, and put out our canoes to know what she was ; she bore to the cape, and put up Spanish colours ; but as the sea ran very high, and that our canoe could  
not

not well weather it, we returned again into port. Now this ship believed it was her colours that hindered us to come on board her, wherefore she took the same down, and put up a white flag in the room of them; we at the same time fitted up our galley to go and hale her, but she could never get out of the port, whereupon she sailed away, and, as our ships were much out of order, we could not follow her. She was undoubtedly a frigate built in the North-sea, but it was impossible for us to know what nation she belonged to.

The sea being calm on the twenty-sixth, we went with our galley about twenty leagues to the windward of Acapulco, to see if the above-mentioned ship were not put into port, we judging by her rigging she wanted to put in somewhere to land, but we returned without any news of her: we waited till the fourth of November for the ransom of the governor, which we did not overmuch press for, as finding in this port, and parts adjacent, plenty of victuals, particularly of tortoises, which we had there in great numbers, and hatto's, that are to be met with up and down frequently here, furnished us with all other necessaries; beside that, we had here a place of security from the insult of the Spaniards.

It is impossible to go ashore from Sanfonnat to Acapulco, unless it be in the ports or bays; and though that which they call the Salt-pits be difficult of access, because of the smallness of it, and that the sea there runs very high, yet they esteem it a bay for all that: it is the next you meet with after Sanfonnat, and stands twenty leagues to the windward of that of Tecoautepequa, which the Spaniards set down also for a bay in their charts, though it be so far from being deep, that it can scarce be distinguished from the rest of the coast: there is a lake

lake at the bottom of this last place bearing the same name, with which it had formerly a communication, but whose mouth at present is stopped up by a bank of sand which the waves have drove thither: this lake hems in three islands that are not far distant from one another, and all of them very near the mouth thereof: some years since the hourqua of Acapulco, that went to the East-Indies, in its return entered into this lake through the bay, and we understood that some Spaniards had entered by the other end of it into the river of Vastaqua, that discharges itself into a bay of New-Spain, and consequently to the North-sea.

When the hourqua returns from the Philippine islands, where the Spaniards drive a great traffick, it is one of the richest vessels that sails upon the ocean; it is of a prodigious bigness, and built so strong, that she is afraid of nothing but land and fire; she is provided with forty pieces of cannon, whereof one half is of no use to her, for her lading makes her sink so deep in the water, that her battery between the two decks is rendered useless: she goes out yearly from the port of Acapulco, convoyed with a patach of twenty-eight guns, and laden with several sorts of merchandises that she carries to the inhabitants of those islands, who, by way of barter for the same, give a great deal of those curious china and japan ware we see in Europe, and, what is yet more valuable, pearls, gold dust, and precious stones.

This ship had great advantage in making this voyage, that is, that, in making choice of a proper season, she goes and returns in a twelve-month's time, comprehending the while they stay in that country, without being put to the trouble of veering about, and sifting the sails; and it is beyond dispute, that she cannot be met with by any that wait  
for

For her, before the port of Acapulco, at a certain season of the year, which I shall take no notice of here, for reasons I have spoken of in the beginning of this journal.

I shall not forget also to remark in this place, that it will be so much the more easy to take her, in that, when she returns from those parts with the patach, all her crew are in so sickly and dying a condition, that, of four hundred men that make up the compliment, there is not one fourth of them in a condition to defend it; and this distemper which they call scorbut, never fails them in their return from the Philippines, insomuch that a ship which goes from the North-sea with a design to look after this hourqua, might, in less than eighteen months time, abating the perils and accidents she might be liable to at sea, return with immense riches.

About twenty leagues to leeward of the bay of Tecoautepequa stands the port of Vatulco, so small, that it cannot contain above ten or a dozen ships; but yet they must have an anchor fore and aft, for, if they had no more than an anchor out at the fore-castle, they would fall foul upon another, in endeavouring to avoid it upon the change of wind or tide.

At the entrance into the port, which is very narrow, there is a whirlpool to the leeward, which the Spaniards call Bofadera, whereinto the water enters in so violent a manner that it makes a noise that may be heard above four leagues off.

Four leagues lower there is another port, where you cannot anchor with safety, because of the rocks, whereof the bottom of it is full: in the passage to it stands a great rock, called the Fourillon, which is all over as well as continually so covered with those sorts of birds which we had before seen in the river of Villia, that there remains nothing of the surface

surface of it to be seen; and a little further is an island called Sacrifice.

About eight leagues lower there are three small ports of a league's distance one from another, whereof that called the Angels is the best; it is no difficult matter to find the passage to it, provided you sail along the shore, but it is impossible to perceive it from the main; there is a rock stands at the mouth of it that has an hole therein resembling a large gate: from this port to Acapulco, which is sixty leagues off, we have no harbour.

The country, which extends itself from the bay of Salt-Pits as far as Acapulco, is that upon the South sea that is best peopled, and where there are moreover several famous and very rich towns; more gold mines are also found there than in Peru, though the metal is not so fine; and those of Tinsigal alone are more valued by the Spaniards than the mines of Potosi; and therefore it is not without reason that this western coast is called by the name of Costa Rica, though, in our geographical maps, they bestow this name only upon a small part of this vast tract of land.

On the seventh we went to make a descent upon a little town called Muemeluna, which is eight leagues to the windward of Vatulco, and six up the country, about four leagues from the sea-side, and two from the town; we found a very strong intrenchment made upon a rock that stands upon the river, but the Spaniards therein made no great resistance, no more than in the town where we completed our victualling: the prisoners we took told us, that, about a month before they had seen a frigate pass by, that sent a small canoe with seven or eight men in it to their embarking place, where they found some Spaniards, who made them embark again with so much precipitation, that one of their men was drowned,

drowned, and whom indeed we found dead upon the shore, whither the sea had thrown him, with his fusil lying some paces from him, which would not have lain so long there, no more than the dead carcass, if the Spaniards had espied it; for they believe themselves revenged, when they cut into pieces, or burn the dead body of an enemy; and we were assured that, when we buried any of our men in their country, they dug them up when we were gone, if they knew the place, for to exercise their cruelty upon those carcasses, which, when alive, they could not make us feel.

We returned on the sixteenth aboard our ships, and on the twenty-sixth, not being able all along the coast to hear any news of the five and sixty men we were in quest of, we weighed anchor, and directed our course for the bay of Mapalla, where we were minded to agree upon the place by which we were to repass to the North-sea: on the twenty-first we had a north wind that carried us to a certain latitude where the west winds reign; and this continued to the twenty-third, when we were becalmed: on the first of December, at night, we had a storm which separated us one from another, and thus we continued alone, and without any water, for all our casks were run out, whereby we were reduced to the greatest extremity, though we were but two leagues from the shore: but it was impossible for us to go ashore, for it is a bank of sand that reaches from the bar of St. Mark as far as Sansonnat, for the space of about fourscore leagues, where the sea breaks with great violence: believing ourselves on the sixth to be to the windward of this bank, we armed our periaugue to go near the shore, and look out for a place where the sea was calmer; next day one of our men, being more impatient than the rest, and egged on with drought, that tormented

him four days, swam to land; but, thinking to return in the same manner, he was drowned, without our being able to succour him, notwithstanding all the cry he made unto us to save him: on the ninth, in the beginning of the night, we thought to have seen a little bay, before which we anchored, that we might know in the morning what it was, during which time we heard the firing of about six hundred musquets on the land. As soon as day-light appeared, on the tenth, we saw that what we took for a bay was a kind of a covert that stands fifteen leagues to the leeward of Sanfonnat, where we could see no likelihood of entering in. In the mean time we saw a very pretty ship upon the stocks in that place, which made us conclude there must of necessity be a passage for her to come out; we anchored pretty near the rock to wait for a tide, during which time a wind blew from the sea, and we adventured with the help of our sails and oars to get in, where we were saluted with three waves that had filled our periaugue in the very sight of the Spaniards, who watched our entering in.

We put up to one side of the said covert, and fired for the space of half an hour upon their magazines built by the side thereof, without their returning us one single shot; but at last, we being tormented with violent drought, which we were desirous to allay, whatever it cost us, we hoisted up our sail, and run up our periaugue before them, who believing we were going to their town, that was but half a league off, they went off. But as we were no more than two-and-twenty men, instead of running after them, we improved their flight, in filling our casks with water, and to furnish ourselves with what provisions we found in the magazines, and some of that ship's rigging, which were more necessary for ours; but not daring all at once to lade our periaugue with

with them, for fear of sinking in her passage out, we spent the night on the other side of those magazines, that we might be under covert from the surprizes of our enemies, for we computed very well, by the six hundred musquet-shot we had heard, that there were a great many armed men in that place.

On the eleventh we departed from under the covert to go and join our ship, which we found on the twelfth, in the morning, lying at anchor eight leagues to the windward of Sansonnat, where she had found the sea somewhat more favourable: we spent that day to take in water, and sent twenty men to take a village that was about half a league from the sea-side, from whence we returned the same day with some refreshments, that put life into our ship's crew, now much weakened with the thirst they endured, as well as we who were in the periaugue, as also with hunger, which failed not to waste us away, though we had victuals to satisfy the same; but we durst not eat for fear of being made dry: we weighed anchor in the evening with a west wind, and on the fifteenth arrived in the bay of Mapalla, where we found the rest of our vessels at anchor near one of those islands that lie within it.

I am to observe, that, as long as we were going up this coast, continually in the night-time there blew winds from the land, which were very favourable to sailors, provided they were not far out at sea; for ten leagues off there could be but very little of it felt; and there are certain reasons when it blows so violently, that they are obliged to lower their sails, and even to furl. On the seventeenth we had a consultation together about what passage, according to the prisoners relations, was less dangerous for us to return to the North-sea over land; it was thought our best way was by Segovia, seeing we



had no more than sixty leagues to go before we came to the head of a river, upon which they told us we might go down to the North-sea, whereunto it discharged itself; and that, in the way we were to take by land, we could have no more than five or six thousand men to deal with, and that the way was very good to carry our wounded and sick men along with us: but we were not fully convinced of the sincerity of this advice; we sent two of our canoes to shore, to take some other prisoners, that so we might see whether they should confirm or contradict this information, and thereby be the more fully instructed concerning those things that might be an obstruction to our passage, and others that might facilitate the same.

We went ashore on the eighteenth, to the number of seventy men, and marched all day long without meeting one soul, as we did also the next day till noon, without any more discovery than in the preceding one, wherewith we were so fatigued, that we resolved to return back again; and here we may add, that the greatest part of our men were not over-content to repass by land to the North-sea, because of the five or six thousand men wherewith we were threatened, wherefore we left those that were minded to return to their canoes, and eighteen of us, who found ourselves less weary than the rest, staid behind: we followed a great road which we met with soon after they had left us, and had not walked above an hour, when we took three horsemen, who, when we had asked where we were, told us, that about a quarter of a league off there was a little town, called Chiloteca, wherein there were four hundred white men, besides negroes, mulattoes, and Indians, and assured us we had not been yet discovered. We had a mind to run after our men to acquaint them with this  
account,

account, and engage them to go back with us to the town; but the apprehensions we were under of being discovered, and thereby giving the inhabitants time to put themselves into a posture of defence, hindered us to do so, and made us undertake, perhaps, the boldest, most resolute, and, if you will, the rashest action that could be thought of; which was, that being no more of us than eighteen men, as I have said before, we should adventurously enter that town, where we surprized and frightened the Spaniards to that degree, that we took the tenient and other officers, to the number in all of fifty persons, including the women prisoners: they were seized with such a panick fear, supposing us to be far more numerous than we were, that all the rest would doubtless have been taken and bound by us, had it not been for their horses, which are always at hand, which they mounted to ride away upon. And so it was as we would have it, for if they had had courage to stay behind, they might have cut out work for us, whereof we had already but too much, which was to watch our prisoners.

We asked the tenient where the galley of Panama was, who made answer, she lay at anchor in the embarking place of Carthage, which is Caldaia, where she waited for us, as hoping we would pass that way to go to the North-sea, and that the king of Spain's ship, the St. Lorenzo, was in the port of Realeguo, mounted with thirty pieces of cannon, and four hundred men on board, to hinder us from coming near that place, which they began to settle in again: as we had a desire to lie in this little town where we now were, we farther asked him what number of men we should have occasion for to guard us, if we should stay there; he told us, there would be six hundred men next day there, but that they had no more fire-arms than for two hundred.

The Spaniards, who during this time were a little recovered of their astonishment, being got together, entered into the town again; and after we had several times conflicted with them, we intrenched ourselves in the church, where we had put our prisoners; who, seeing us go in with precipitation, believed their people pursued us close, and were just upon falling on us; which made them so bold, as to run to the swords and other arms we had got together, wherewith they wounded us one man. We presently got to the doors, and from thence fired upon them so long, till there were no more than four men and their wives left alive of them: at the same time we mounted the horses which we had taken, and, with our four prisoners of each sex, went away with as little noise as we could, which the other Spaniards observing, they sent one to treat with us; but we refused, and fired upon him, for fear, if he came too near us, he should come to know how few we were. Next day, which was the twentieth, we rejoined our other people, who had rested themselves at an *batto* they had met with in their return, and who gave us assistance against six hundred of those Spaniards who followed in the rear of us; then we gave the women prisoners their liberty. On the twenty-first we went on board our canoes, and next day reached our ships, where we interrogated our four new prisoners concerning the passage we had projected; but they laid so many difficulties before us, that we grew almost out of conceit with it: but yet, when we considered we must either make our way through, or end our days miserably in an horrible want of all convenient necessities, and in an enemy's country, where we grew weaker every day by the loss of our men, we resolved to hazard all to get out of it: insomuch, that being no longer daunted at the dangers we were in

in this passage, and being persuaded it would be better for us to die with our swords in our hands, than to pine away with hunget, we made all things ready for this journey; and to the end we might cut off from the most timorous any desires they might have to return to their ships, if their minds should alter in reference to their going along with us, we ran our vessels ashore, except our galley and periaugues, which we reserved to carry us off the island where we were to the continent.

On the twenty-fifth we formed four companies, consisting of seventy men each, making all together two hundred and fourscore; and as for the forlorn hope, we agreed for to draw out ten men out of each, and to relieve them every morning: we also made a contract among ourselves, that those who should be lamed in the encounters we might have with the enemy in our way, should have the same recompente as formerly, that is, a thousand pieces of eight a man; that the horses we should take, should be divided between the companies for the ease of all our men, and for those that were incommoded above any of the rest: that those that straggled and should be lamed, should have no recompence made them, and that violence, cowardice, and drunkenness should also be punished as formerly.

Before I leave these seas, I will spare the reader the trouble of asking how we came to endure so much hunger, miseries, and fatigues in these parts, since I have said upon several occasions, that the country is so good and pleasant, as well as fruitful in the production of all things necessary for the support and comfort of human life; as to this, there needs no more than observing, that, since our separation from the English at the Isle of St. John, we were all along so ill accommodated with shipping, that we were forced to keep continually to the coast, and by con-

sequence in sight of the Spaniards, who, discovering even the least motions we made, had almost always time to remove all their effects out of the way, before we made our descent, and left us nothing but what they could not carry away, which was many times very inconsiderable ; whereas, had we had but one good ship to put out far to sea, they could not have discovered us, and we should have surprized them continually in our descents, where we could have wanted nothing, not only that was necessary, but also pleasurable, besides the wealth we must have carried away in a short time.

This want of shipping, under which we laboured, was so advantageous to our enemies, and the consequence thereof they knew so well, that the people of Peru sent no more ships to the western coast where we were, for fear some of them might fall into our hands, and traded with one another no otherwise than by land.

The same reason also hindered us to go up to the coast of Peru, where we could not have failed of having ships, seeing they sailed up and down there every day, and drove a great trade with one another, as knowing we were not so near unto their country ; so that it is easy, from what I have remarked, to conjecture, that for want of these helps, which were of so much importance to us in these seas, we must also very often stand in need of all these things, which we could not but with the greatest difficulty have without them ; wherefore, to make any thing of it in these climates, and to raise a considerable fortune, without much danger and sufferings, there needs no more than to be provided with a good ship, and, for the better conveniency, victualled for some time, that so there may be no necessity of going ashore to seek it.

On

On the twenty-seventh we discovered a ship passing along between the islands, which made us send our galley and periaugue to see what she was ; she put up a white flag, but as soon as we came within musquet-shot of her, she took down the white flag, and put out Spanish colours, and withal gave us ten or a dozen guns ; we returned to the shore to give our people notice of it ; not doubting, but if that ship came to an anchor in the same place, she would destroy our periaugues : we sent them with our baggage and prisoners up to the flats that are behind the island where we were.

This vessel, about noon, came in with the tide, and anchored within half a cannon-shot of ours that were run ashore, under the covert of which we fought against them with two pieces of cannon till it was night ; but as the enemy had no other aim than to ruin our ships, they put them this first day out of a condition to sail, which was what ourselves had a mind to, and then put farther off from the shore.

On the twenty-eighth in the morning they drew nearer again, and began to fight us, which made us shelter ourselves behind the points of the rocks that run out into the sea, from whence our arms carried aboard them ; upon this they were forced to send their shallop under the favour of their cannon, to take away an anchor that was nearer to shore than their ship ; but being prevented therein, they cut off the cable that held it, and put off again ; at last, concluding with ourselves that this ship would not leave us so hastily, we sent an hundred men in the evening to the continent before us, that they might endeavour to take some horses, on which we might lay our disabled men, with orders afterwards to return and wait for us upon the sea-side in the same place where they went ashore (which was a kind of a port we had assigned them) in case they had re-

turned before our arrival there: and for fear the Spanish ship should suspect, from the running of ours aground, the design we had to go to the North-sea, and that the men on board her would send to the continent to give the people notice to put themselves in a readiness to hinder us, we counterfeited all night long the caulking of our ships, that so we might fully possess them with a belief that we were careening them, which wrought so effectually upon them, that in the morning they failed not to come up, to destroy with their cannon the work they fancied we had been doing during the night.

On the twenty-ninth their ship took fire, which made them put farther off, where they extinguished it: on the thirtieth we made use of a new stratagem to amuse our enemies, and take away all manner of suspicion from them that we designed to be gone, which was to charge our guns, granadoes, and four pieces of cannon, whereunto we tied lighted matches of different lengths, that so, having their effect in our absence one after another, the Spanish ship's crew might still believe we were upon the island, from whence we parted in the twilight, as secretly as ever we could, with all our prisoners, whom we reserved for no other use than to carry our surgeon's medicines, carpenter's tools, and the wounded men we might have in this passage.

On the first of January, in the year 1688, we arrived on the continent; and, on the evening of the same day, the party which we had sent before to look for horses, came thither likewise: they had taken sixty-eight with several prisoners, who, without any violence offered them, told us, they did not think it adviseable we should travel through Segovia, because the Spaniards had intelligence, we had made choice of that province to pass through; but as we had  
already

already resolved upon the matter, and that our ships could be of no longer use unto us, all that they could say to the contrary, did not hinder us to persevere therein. All our people, at the same time, packed up every man his charge, and put their silver into bags, which they thought they could carry with their ammunition: those who had too much of the former, gave it those who had lost theirs at play for to carry, conditioning with them, that they should return the one half back to the owner, in case it should please God to bring them safe to the North-sea.

As for myself I must say, I was none of the worst provided, and though my charge was lighter than others, yet it was not for all that less considerable for the value, seeing I had converted thirty thousand pieces of eight into gold, pearls, and precious stones. But as the best part of this was the product of luck I had at play, some of those who had been losers as well in playing against me as others, being much discontented at their losses, plotted together, to the number of seventeen or eighteen, to murder those that were the richest amongst us. I was so happy as to be timely advertised of it by some friends, which did not a little disquiet my mind; for it was a very difficult task for a man, during so long a journey, to be able to secure himself from being surprized by those who were continually in the same company, and with whom we must eat, drink, and sleep, and who could cut off whom they pleased of them, in the conflicts they might have with the Spaniards, by shooting us during the hurry, which yet they executed in another manner, as may be seen in due place: the apprehensions I had of this conspiracy did not hinder me to retain so much judgment and presence of mind, as to fall presently upon such methods as I thought most rational



and secure for the preservation of my life, and which effectually saved it, which was to deposit some of what I possessed in the hands of divers persons, and that in the presence of all the rest, upon condition they should restore unto me such a proportion as I agreed with them for, when we were come upon the coast of Domingo. By this means I rid myself of the care I should continually have had of keeping upon my guard, without exposing them much who carried my effects, the which being divided diversly, and to different persons, they had to do with too many people to compass their ends. It is true I paid dear for this precaution; but what will not a man do to save his life?

## C H A P. VI.

*The return of the Free-booters from the South to the North sea, over the continent, by another way than that by which they got thither.*

ON the second day of January, in the morning, after we had said our prayers, and sunk our periaugues, lest the Spaniards should have any benefit of them, we set out, and lay that night by the sea-side; we stopped next day about noon at an hatto to bait: on the fourth we lay upon a platform that extends itself upon the tops of several high mountains, where the Spaniards, notwithstanding all the precautions we had taken, were advertised of our departure, and failed not to let us have their company, keeping themselves always in our flanks and rear.

On the fifth we lay at another hatto belonging to the tenient of Chiloteca, about which place the enemy began to barricade the ways: we rested on the sixth for an hour and better at an estancia to bait; and

and upon a bed, in a hall there, we found the following letter directed unto us, in these words :

‘ WE are very glad that you have made choice  
 ‘ of our province for your passage through  
 ‘ homewards ; but we are sorry you are no better  
 ‘ laden with silver ; however, if you have occasion  
 ‘ for mules to carry your baggage, we will send them  
 ‘ to you ; we hope to have the French general Grog-  
 ‘ net very quickly in our power, and we will leave  
 ‘ you to consider what is like to become of the sol-  
 ‘ diers.’

We saw clearly by this letter, that they knew nothing of the death of Grognet, since they believed he was still our commander ; and that they had no knowledge of him, but by the account that had been given them by the three men that had run away from him to them, when they failed of getting the gold of the mines of Tinsigal.

On the seventh we met with an ambuscade of the enemy, whom our van-guard forced to retire, and lay in the evening at an hatto : the Spaniards, who left no means unattempted to destroy us, burnt all the provision that was in our way, and also when we entered into any savannas, where the grass was very dry, they went to the windward of us to set it on fire, whereby we were very much incommoded, and our houses were even stifled with the smoke : as we were sometimes obliged to stay till the fire had burnt up all, to go forwards, this very much retarded our march ; and this was the chief thing the Spaniards aimed at that the men might have leisure to finish a retrenchment, whereof I shall quickly have occasion to speak, which they erected unknown to us at some distance off from our road, to which also the work they cut out for us to remove the barricadoes of trees, where-

wherewith they had encumbered the way, contributed very much; infomuch that, not being able to penetrate into their designs, we persuaded ourselves that they did all this with no other intent than to chagrin us only, as being not able to do worse unto us, or I should have rather said, having not the courage for it.

On the eighth we passed on to a very fine sugar-plantation, and as we were very desirous to take some prisoners who might inform us of what was done, all our company filed off, and twenty of us staid behind in a house, after they had set it on fire, to oblige the Spaniards to come and put it out, when they saw our men at a distance from them, and this they failed not to do: but our impatience being the means of discovering of us too soon, they thereupon fled; yet we, firing upon them, wounded one, and took him, by whom we understood that all their reinforcements were coming together to dispute our passage, and that we were going to meet them that came from Tinfigal, who consisted of three hundred men.

When we had done with this wounded man, we rejoined our main body, who had halted to wait for us, and then jogged on till we came to a great borough, where we found those three hundred men, who afterwards were our continual guard, for they gave us, morning and evening, the diversion of their trumpets; but it was like the music of the enchanted palace of Psicha, who heard it without seeing the musicians, for ours marched on each side of us, in places so covered with pine-trees, that it was impossible to perceive them.

We lay this evening about a quarter of a league from the said borough, upon an ascent, according to our usual manner, who never encamped but upon high ground, or in the race of savannas, for fear of  
being

being hemmed in. We decamped on the ninth in the morning, after we had reinforced our advanced guards with forty men more, who were appointed to fire their muskets at the entries or avenues of the woods, that we might have a sight of the Spaniards, in case they laid any ambuscades for us : in the mean time, about ten in the morning we passed on to a place that was so thin set with wood, that we might see a considerable distance from us; and, seeing no enemy appear, we did not fire at all: but we did not dream that we were seeking for that far before us, which we had at the sides of us; for the Spaniards, who were ranged to the right and left of our way, lying on their bellies, made their discharges with so much precipitation, that there was no more than one half of our advanced guard who had time to answer their firing. They killed us two men presently, who were turned out of the way, to pass undiscovered of the enemy; after which we went to refresh ourselves in a little town that was in our way, and lay half a league beyond it.

We met with another ambuscade on the tenth, wherein we were beforehand with our enemies, and made them leave us their horses; then went to bait at another borough, and lay a little farther.

On the eleventh, as we drew nearer unto the town of Segovia, we met with a new ambuscade a little on this side it, and when we had forced them with our fusils to retire, we went into the said town, being resolved and disposed to fight stoutly, as believing, if the Spaniards were minded to try us, they would use their greatest effort in that place; but they contented themselves with firing only a few musquet-shot at us from under the covert of some pine-trees that grew upon the ascents which encompass the town, whither they were retired: we found nothing there to eat, because they had burnt all the provision in the place.

By

By good luck we took a prisoner to conduct us to the river we sought for, and which was still twenty leagues off; forasmuch as those who had been our guides as far as Segovia knew not the way any farther.

This town lies in a bottom, and is so surrounded with mountains, that she looks as if she were laid up in prison; the churches here are very indifferently built, but the place of arms is both very considerable and very fine; it is an inland place forty leagues off from the South-sea. The way that leads to it, from the place where we were, is very difficult, being all mountains of a prodigious height, to the tops whereof we must creep with great danger, and the vallies consequently are so very narrow here, that for a league of even ground you pass over, you have six leagues of mountains to go: when we had passed these mountains we felt a very sharp cold, and were taken with so thick a fog, that, even when day appeared, we could not know one another no otherwise than by our voices; but that lasted not till above ten in the morning, when the weather cleared up, and the fog went entirely off; and the heat, which succeeds the cold, becomes there very great, as well as in the plains, where none of this cold is felt, till you come directly to the foot of the mountains. Thus were we forced to endure such contrary seasons, as well when we travelled, as when we reposed ourselves, that they exposed us to very great inconveniences; but the hopes of getting once into our native country made us patiently to endure all their toils, and served as so many wings to carry us.

On the twelfth we departed from this town, and went up other mountains, where we had incredible trouble to clear the ways of those works the Spaniards had prepared to barricade them up with; we went to lodge in an *hatto*, where they fired very much in the night into our camp.

On

On the thirteenth, an hour before sun-rising, we mounted along an eminence that seemed to us to be an advantageous place to encamp on; from whence we saw, upon the edge of a mountain from which we were separated but by a narrow valley, twelve or fifteen herds, which we took for some time for cattle that fed there, whereat we much rejoiced, as being in hopes we should next morning have good cheer at the cost of these animals; and that we might be the more assured of the matter, we sent forty men thither, who told us at their return, that what we took for herds were all saddled horses, and that they had observed three retrenchments in the same place, about pistol-shot one from another, which, raising by degrees towards the middle of the same side of the mountain, fully barricaded the way through which we were to pass next day, and commanded a small stream that ran along the said valley, into which we must necessarily descend first, there being no other way, nor any likelihood of our going on one side thereof. They saw also a man, who, as soon as he discovered them, severely threatened them with his cutlafs, which he held naked in his hand.

These sad tidings was a mighty allay to our joy, and the transformation of those pretended herds, on whom our pining appetite had depended so much, affected us to a great degree; but these thoughts were at present to be laid aside, to make room for to consider how we should disentangle ourselves from that place, and that without delay, because the Spaniards, who were gathering together from all the adjacent provinces, would quickly fall upon our small company, who must of necessity be overborne by them, if we staid for them: the means to effect this were not easily found, and perhaps it would have appeared an impossible thing to any other than such as we were, who, till then, had been successful almost

most in all our undertakings; and to be plain in the matter, we found ourselves now hard put to it: for, as I observed to the rest of our people, ten thousand men could not be able to force their way through that intrenchment without being cut to pieces, as well because of the advantage of the place, as the number of Spaniards that defended it, which we might compute by that of their horses; and seeing a single man could hardly pass on one side of it, there was no likelihood we should be able to do it with our horses and baggage, so rough was the country: and indeed, saving the road itself, all the rest was no other than a thick forest, without either ways or paths, full of sharp rocks in some places, of quagmires in others, and embarrassed with a great many trees that had dropped down to the ground with age: and though after all we should have found out a way to escape a cross so many obstacles, there was still an indispensable necessity that we should fight with the Spaniards, that we might be at quiet for the rest of our journey. This they all agreed to; but as they objected unto me, that it was to no purpose to represent these difficulties, which of themselves were but too apparent, without proposing some method to surmount them, nor to give counsel without facilitating the execution thereof, I told them, that, for my part; I could not see what else we could do, but go cross those woods, precipices, mountains, and rocks, how inaccessible soever they appeared to be, and endeavour to surprize the enemy in the rear, and to gain the advantage of the ground from them by getting above them, where surely we were not expected; and that I would answer for the success of the same at the peril of my life, if they would undertake it: that as for our prisoners, horses, and baggage, wherewith we were incumbered, we ought not to leave them defenceless,

less, to the discretion of those three hundred men, who always kept close to us in our march, and encamped every evening about a musket-shot off: that we ought to leave fourscore men to guard them with all necessary precaution, as you will hear by-and-by, and that such a number was enough to fight with so many Spaniards four times told.

We took some time to deliberate hereupon; and at length these expedients, how hazardous soever they were, being found the most suitable to the condition we were in, and I may say, the only ones we had left us, we resolved to lay hold of them, and put the same in execution.

Scarce had we projected the design, and considered the ascent where we were, the situation of the opposite mountain where the Spaniards had made their retrenchments, but that above the highest of them we saw a road, which we took to be the continuation of that which they had shut up against us, and, turning to the right, went winding about the side of the same mountain; which yet we could not discover but with difficulty, and by lights peeping in between the trees, which would allow us to see but some traces at a distance from one another.

As we had not hitherto resolved upon which side to pitch, in order to get behind those intrenchments, whether the right or left, this way decided that point, being well satisfied, that if we could but once cross it, it would bring us directly upon the enemy: but yet, that we might not engage ourselves inconsiderately in this enterprize, where all things went for us, we sent twenty men, while we had any daylight left, to a place that was somewhat higher than that where we were, to cover another party, whom we had known by experience to have been very ingenious and expert upon several occasions, that so they might pitch upon those places by which we might, in the  
night,



night, the more easily get up as far as that road, thereby to go and charge the enemy in the rear by break of day.

As soon as our men were returned, and gave us an account of what they had observed, we made all things ready for our departure ; but we first made that station, we were leaving, a place of arms, where we left our baggage, all the prisoners we had, and fourscore men to guard them, and this, that the three hundred Spaniards, who continually followed us, as well as those who were behind the retrenchments, might be persuaded we had not left our camp ; and we gave the officer that commanded order to make every centinel he set, or relieved in the night-time, to fire his fusil, and that he should beat the drum at the usual hour : we told him, moreover, that, if God gave us the victory, we should send a party to bring him off, and that, if, about an hour after he heard the firing at an end, he did not see any body from us, he should provide for his own safety as well as he could.

Things being thus disposed, we said our prayers as low as we could, that the Spaniards might not hear us, from whom we were separated but by the valley we have spoken of : at the same time we set forward, to the number of two hundred men, by moonlight, it being now an hour within night ; and about one more after our departure, we heard the Spaniards also at their prayers, who, knowing we were encamped very near them, fired about six hundred muskets into the air to frighten us ; besides which, they also made a discharge at all the responses of the litany of the saints which they sung. We still pursued our march, and spent the whole night (in going down, and then getting up) to advance half a quarter of a league, which was the distance between them and us, through a country, as I have already

already said, so full of rocks, mountains, woods, and frightful precipices, that our posteriors and knees were of more use to us than our legs, it being impossible for us to travel thither otherwise.

On the fourteenth, by break of day, as we were got over the most dangerous parts of this passage, and had already seized upon a considerable ascent of the mountain, by clambering up to it in great silence, and leaving the Spaniards retrenchments on our left, we saw their party that went the rounds, who, thanks to the fogs that are very rife in this country (as I have already said) till ten o'clock did not discover us. As soon as they were gone by, we went directly to the place where we saw them, and found it to be exactly the road we were minded to seize on: when we had made an halt for about half an hour to take breath, and that we had a little daylight to facilitate our march, we followed this road by the voice of the Spaniards, who were at their morning prayers, and we were but just beginning our march, when unfortunately we met with two out-centinels, on whom we were forced to fire; and this gave the Spaniards notice, who thought of nothing less than to see us come down from about them upon their retrenchment, since they expected us no other way than from below: so that those who had the guard thereof, and were in number about five hundred men, finding themselves on the outside, when they thought they had been within, and consequently open without any covert, took the alarm so hot, that, falling all on upon them at the same time, we made them quit the place in a moment, and make their escape by the favour of the fog.

This so much unexpected morning musick disturbed the whole œconomy of their designs, and so thwarted their whole contrivance, that those of the other two retrenchments drew all without the lower-



lowermost, where they prepared to defend themselves; we fought with them a whole hour from under the covert of the first retrenchment which we had got of them, and which exactly commanded them, because of its elevated situation upon the mountain: but, as they gave no ground, we began to think that the shot we discharged did not reach them, because of the fog which hindered us to discover them, and that we could not fire but according to the discharges that came from them; so that, being resolved to lose our aim no longer, we advanced, and fell directly upon the places from whence they fired: there we fought them stoutly, and they did not quit the place, till such time as they saw the butts of our muskets, and that near them, the sight whereof the mist had till then taken from them: but then, being much terrified, they left us all, and ran that way which was before their retrenchments, which proved very incommodious for them, because, that being the only place by which they thought we could come at them, they had cut down all the trees that grew there, and in the adjacent parts, as well because they might obstruct their sight in this bottom, as hinder us to come on under the covert of them: and thus the precaution which they had taken against us, by a quite contrary effect was turned upon themselves, insomuch that we had so clear a view of them from the retrenchments we had taken, that we did execution almost with every piece we shot. We pursued them after that for some time, still beating them; but at length, being weary both of running and killing, we returned to the retrenchments where the five hundred men, whom we had put to flight at first, being come back, endeavoured to break in upon those whom we had left to guard them, but we made them, like the rest, quickly run away.

We

We were also fatigued mightily in pursuing of them; for, besides that the ground was so extraordinary bad and hard to pass, they also augmented the difficulties by making use of the trees which they had felled down to barricade and stop up even the least avenue that was near the place round about.

We found these Spaniards had so little mind to give us quarter, if they should have the upper hand of us, that even when we took any of them, they would not as much as ask it at our hands, and to some of them we gave quarter in spite of their teeth, though they did otherwise all that ever they could to save themselves out of our hands: but at this no man ought to wonder; for it is a maxim amongst them in these parts, and whereof we have had experience upon several occasions, whether it proceeded from pride, or natural fierceness of temper, or because of an oath they take before their commander before they go to fight, that they will never submit to ask quarter of those to whom they have sworn they would give none: but we in the mean time, being affected with compassion upon sight of the great quantity of blood we saw running down into the rivulet, spared the rest, and went a second time into our intrenchments, having lost all this while but one man, and two only wounded. The Spaniards, among others, lost their general, who was an old Walloon officer, who had given them the plan of this retrenchment, that would infallibly have prevailed against us, had we attacked them by the way they expected. In the mean time another old captain had advised him to secure their rear, but he saw so little likelihood of danger on that side, that he answered, we must be either men or devils; that, if we were men, he desired us to get over any way in eight days time; but if we were devils,

though he should take never so much care of himself, he must still be taken.

However, at the solicitation of the said officer, he sent a party that way to go the rounds, and to post the two centinels we spoke of, as they thought most convenient. The general being searched, there were several letters found in his pockets, which had been writ to him by the governors of the province, that set forth particularly the number of men they had sent him; and one, among others, from the general of Costa Rica, who expressed himself as follows :

*A letter written by the general of the province of Costa Rica to the commander in chief in the retrenchments. Dated January 6, 1688.*

‘ S I R,

‘ I THOUGHT I had made a good choice, when  
 ‘ I committed to you the conduct of an affair  
 ‘ which ought to re-establish our reputation, if you  
 ‘ have the better of the enemy, as you induce me to  
 ‘ believe you will; I was preparing to send you  
 ‘ eight thousand men, if you had not sent me word  
 ‘ that fifteen hundred was enough. I do not doubt  
 ‘ but a person that hath served so long as you have  
 ‘ done, will take care of your men, especially since  
 ‘ you have to do with a people from whom there  
 ‘ will no honour redound to you by over-doing  
 ‘ them.

‘ According to the relation you have given me of  
 ‘ your retrenchments, it is impossible but those people,  
 ‘ with the help of God, must be destroyed; I  
 ‘ advise you to put a thousand men into them, and  
 ‘ two hundred near unto the river, by which they  
 ‘ hope to get unto the North-sea. In case any of  
 ‘ them save themselves cross the mountains, don Rodrigo  
 ‘ Sarmado, the new governor of Tinsigal,  
 ‘ ought

ought to be at the head of three hundred men, to fall upon the rear as soon as ever they are engaged, for certainly their baggage must be there. Take good measures, for those devils have a cunning and subtlety that is not in use amongst us.

‘ When you find them advance within the shot of your harquebusses, let not your men fire but by twentys, to the end your firing may not be in vain; and, when you find them weakened, raise a shout to frighten them, and fall in with your swords, while don Rodrigo attacks them in the rear. I hope God will favour our designs, since they are no other than for his glory, and the destruction of these new sort of Turks; hearten up your men, though they may have enough of that according to your example; they shall be rewarded in heaven, and, if they get the better, they will have gold and silver enough, wherewith these thieves are laden.’

After we had sung *Te Deum* upon the field of battle, by way of thanks unto God for this victory, we mounted sixty men on horseback to go and give notice to our other people of the success the Almighty was pleased to give us. We found them ready to begin another engagement against the three hundred Spaniards, whereof we have spoken; who, as soon as they heard that action at the retrenchments begin, and saw how few men we had left behind in our camp, were easily induced to believe we had made our attack by that disadvantageous way. I have spoke of, as supposing it impossible for us to do it in any other place, and that therefore our ruin must be inevitable; insomuch that, instead of entering directly into the place, which, considering their number, they could have carried in a moment, they had so little courage, that they contented themselves to send an officer to our men that guarded the bag-

gage, to parley with them, whom they stopped for a time, in expectation of some news from us, that so they might return an answer conformable to the intelligence they received. And thus the platform I had laid, whereon to ground the sufficiency of fourscore of our men for that work, or rather the cowardice of the enemy, was fully confirmed.

They told us, that, as soon we had begun the fight, those three hundred Spaniards advanced a little, and, having got upon an eminence that commanded our camp, they alighted, and sent them the said officer to make the following harangue to them.

‘ I come hither from my general ; you say, you  
 “ do not question but you have force enough, and  
 “ that you are men of courage, which you have  
 “ let us know whenever you have been minded to  
 “ make yourselves masters of our country ; yet you  
 “ are not to doubt but the great numbers of men  
 “ we have got together, will over-power you. We  
 “ are to let you understand, there are a thousand  
 “ men in that retrenchment against whom they are  
 “ gone to fight, where they are worsted ; that we  
 “ are three hundred men in this place, and that two  
 “ hundred are posted near to the river you go and  
 “ seek, to wait for those of you who escape out of  
 “ the fight : wherefore, if you will give yourselves  
 “ up prisoners of war into the power of our ge-  
 “ neral, who is a man of honour, we will be friends,  
 “ and we will let you pass to your own country :  
 “ but as to those of your men whom ours have ta-  
 “ ken alive, their almoner, yesterday after prayers,  
 “ begged quarter for them, for the honour of the  
 “ holy sacrament, and glorious Virgin, which has  
 “ been promised unto them.’

Our men, hearing him talk at this rate, were already somewhat alarmed, as fearing what he said was

was true; but, as soon they saw us come at a distance, they took courage, and returned him as fierce an answer, like men who had no fear upon them, to this purpose.

‘ Though you had had force enough to destroy two thirds of our number, we should not fail still to fight with the remaining part; yea, though there were but one man of us left, he should fight still against you all.

‘ When we put ashore, and left the South-sea, we all resolved to pass through your country, or die in the attempt; and though there were as many Spaniards of you as there is grass in this savanna, we should not be afraid, but look upon you always in our opinion cowards, and we will pass on, and go where we will in spite of your teeth.’

The officer, being dismissed upon our arrival, mounted his horse to return from whence he came, and observing we were booted, and mounted upon his companions horses, who guarded the retrenchments, he shrunk up his shoulders by way of amazement, and rode as fast as he could to carry the news to his own party. As soon as he was got to them, who were not above a musket-shot off, we advanced, and fell upon them, to put them out of condition all at once to follow us any more: we received their first firing, to which we made no return, otherwise than with our pistols and cutlasses, and that unhappily for them who had not yet got upon their horses, for we cut a great many of them to pieces, insomuch that, God crowning all the advantages we had had in the rest of our engagements by the success we had in this last, we let the rest go, detaining only their horses; and when we had broken all their arms, we, with our baggage, rejoined our main body, who staid still upon the place to guard the retrenchments. We had no more than



one man killed in this engagement (as it was in the other) and two maimed.

We asked some of the prisoners whom we had taken several questions, and they told us, among other things, that we should still meet with another retrenchment upon the road, about six leagues distant from those we quitted, which made us fear, with very great reason, lest the fugitives should go and possess themselves of it with a design to dispute our passage once more: and indeed we saw fire upon the top of a great mountain, which they had made for a signal to gather their scattered troops together, and those who, out of the fear they were in, might perhaps hide themselves for eight days together, had it not been for this, as believing us still at their heels; but we prevented their design, for we lay two leagues from thence to cut off their passage, there being no other way than this by which they might get thither, and whose sides were still less accessible the farther you went on, than they were behither the same. We had cut the hams of nine hundred of their horses before, that so they might be made unfit to pursue us; we took much about the same number of them with us to ease our journey, till we came at the river we were in quest of, and to kill and salt them upon our arrival, that so they might serve us for food in that long passage.

On the fifteenth we passed by the forementioned retrenchment, which was not yet finished, without any resistance (this proceeding in all appearance from the terror which the noise of our victory had struck into the people) and lay at an hatto three leagues beyond it. On the sixteenth we lay at another six leagues farther; and at last, on the seventeenth, which was the sixteenth day since our setting out, we came to the so much desired river, and presently entered into the woods that grow upon the  
banks

Banks thereof, where every one fell to work in good earnest to cut down trees to build piperies, wherein we might go down the same.

Some perhaps may think that these were some commodious vessels, wherein to carry us with ease down the river, but there was nothing less than that in it. What we called piperies were four or five stocks of one kind of tree, which they called Mahot; it is a light floating sort of wood, which, after we have taken off the bark, we join and tie together, instead of cords, with a sort of lines that grow in these woods and cling like ivy unto every thing that is near them, and especially to trees, to the height whereof they mount; and when these pieces are set together, they put two or three men upon them, according to the bigness of the piperie, and this is all the equipment we make thereof.

The surest posture we can find ourselves to be in, is to stand upright thereon, though they sink two or three feet under water; and you may judge by what follows, whether the continual apprehensions of danger we were in were well or ill grounded.

We built ours no bigger than to hold two men, that so they might the more easily pass between those very narrow rocks we foresaw, by those that already presented themselves to our view, we must meet with before we got unto the sea-side. When this pretty flota was in a condition to put out, we dragged it to the river-side, after we had furnished ourselves with long poles, to keep us from being driven too violently upon the rocks, where we were apprehensive we should be carried by the violence of the stream, as it came also frequently to pass.

This river springs in the mountains of Segovia, and discharges itself into the North-sea at Cape Gracias a Dios, after having run a very long way in a most rapid manner cross a vast number of rocks of a

prodigious bigness, and by the most frightful precipices that can be thought of, besides a great many falls of water, to the number of at least an hundred of all sorts, which it is impossible for a man to look on without trembling; and making the head of the most fearless to turn round, when he sees and hears the water fall from such an height into those tremendous whirlpools. In short, the whole is so formidable, that there are none but those who have some experience, can have right conceptions of it: but for me, who have passed these places, and who, as long as I live, shall have my mind filled with those risques I have run, it is impossible I should give such an idea hereof, but what will come far short of what I have really known of them.

It was therefore upon this dangerous river that we went down, suffering ourselves to be carried along at the will of the stream, in these pitiful machines, whereof the greatest part was under water, as has been said before, two or three feet, inso-much that we were almost always up to the middle therein: but this was nothing in comparison of the rapidity of it, which many times hurried us, in spite of all the resistance we could make, into the publings of foaming water, where we now and then found ourselves buried with our pieces of wood, which made many of our men tie themselves thereon, as being in hopes the wood, that floated, would bear them up still upon the water; but in this, some of them were mistaken.

But as for those great falls, they had, to our good fortunes, at their entrance and goings out, a great basin of still water, which gave us the opportunity to get upon the banks of the river and draw our piperics ashore, to take off those things we had laid on them, which, as wet as we were, we carried with us, leaping from rock to rock, till we

we came to the end of the fall, from whence one of us afterwards returned to put our piper into the water, and let her swim along to him who waited for her below: but if he failed to catch hold (by swimming) of those pieces of wood, before they got out of the basin below, the violence of the stream would carry them away to rights, and the men must then be necessitated to go and pick out trees to make another.

We thought at our setting out to go down the water all together, to the end that, in case of any accident, one might give assistance to the others; but at the end of three days, when I knew the danger we exposed ourselves to in this way of swimming together, which had already been the occasion of our losing many piperies, I set myself against the design of our continuing thus together, by demonstrating to all our men, that now we had no Spaniards in these parts to conflict with, but only the difficulties of this dangerous river, it was convenient on the contrary to allow every crew of us to advance a little before the other, and to keep, as it were, in a line successively; and so, in case the first were carried (as indeed it came to pass) by the violence of the stream upon the rocks on the brink of the water, whereof the river is full in an infinity of places, they might have time at least to get off before the arrival of the next piper, which had already wrought so much disorder by the wrecks that had been occasioned by their falling foul on one another, that all of us were in manifest danger of perishing.

I afterwards found, as well as several others of our people who had made trial hereof, that this foresight was not useless to us; for my piper happening to be cast upon such a place, I was forced to untie the pieces of wood, and to straddle upon one

piece, while my companion did the same upon another, and so leave ourselves to be carried down in this manner, at the pleasure of the stream, till it pleased God that we should meet with a place, as we did indeed; that was not so rapid, where we could go upon the bank of the river, which we could not have done, if others had immediately followed us. I also advised, that those who went down first should take care to set up in the most dangerous places a flag or banner at the top of a long pole, that so we might discern it afar off, not so much to give notice to those who were hindermost, that there was a fall in such a place, for these would make themselves to be heard almost a league off, but to signify to them what side they were to put to land, which should be that where the flag stood. These methods being put in practice, saved the lives of a great many men, though, for all these precautions, several were also lost.

The many bananiers which we found along the the banks of this river, was almost the only food that kept us from starving; for our arms being continually wet, and our powder all spoiled, we could not possibly go a hunting, though there is very good game there; for as to the horse-flesh which we had salted, we were forced to throw it away in two days time, for it could not keep in the water any longer.

: These bananiers have partly been planted by the Indians who dwell along the sides of this river, and partly by the overflowing of the waters, which, having dragged them along, and then left them dry, took root again, and so have multiplied.

Some days after we found, when we began to go down the river, some carbets of an Indian nation called Albaouins, whom we chaced to get their vicuals; there are a multitude of others, who dwell farther

farther from the brink thereof on the opposite side to the former, and those of the one bank have neither war nor commerce with those of the other.

It was in this place that those of our men, who had lost their money by gaming, put their cruel design in execution, and where I came to know that the warning formerly given me was too true: for these wretches being gone before, went and hid themselves behind the rocks that are upon the brink of this river, by which we must necessarily pass. As every man endeavoured to save himself as well as he could, and that for the reasons already given, we went down the river at a distance one from another, and without any mistrust; they had but too much time and conveniency to pick out and murder five Englishmen, whom they knew to be some of the best furnished with booty, of which these assassins entirely deprived them. My companion and I found their bodies upon the river's side; and I must freely confess, that such a spectacle would have struck no small terror into me, if I had been still the bearer of my winnings; I bless God with all my heart, that inspired me with a design to quit my treasure, being then exposed in going down the river, as I was last after the English; to the treachery of those villains, where I must infallibly have run the same risque as they had done. None of our people knew any thing of this murder; but when we were got all together farther down, I told them what I had seen, which was fully confirmed, as well by the absence of the dead men, as by that of the assassins, who durst not come and rejoin us, and whom we never saw from thence forward.

On the twentieth of February we found the river larger, and more spacious than before, and met with no more falls therein; but the same was so incumbered with trees and bamboes, which the floods car-

ried thither, that our wretched machines could not be kept from overturning; but the depth of the water in these parts being a means to moderate the rapidness of it, there were not many drowned.

At last, when we were gone down some leagues farther, we found the river very good, the stream very gentle, and no likelihood of our meeting any more rocks or trees, though we had still above sixty leagues to the sea-side. Wherefore, now finding ourselves freed from those perils and dangers which we had been exposed to in such terrible places, where death, in the most frightful shape, presented itself continually to our view, every one began to resume fresh courage, and conceive good hopes of the remainder of the voyage; insomuch that, being now all of us assembled together in the same place where those who had gone before staid for them that came after, and that we had now before us how we should go quite through with the rest of our voyages, we agreed to divide ourselves into several companies, each consisting of sixty men, to build canoes out of Mapou wood, which sort of trees grow in great numbers upon the banks of the said river.

Having, with wonderful diligence, finished four canoes by the first of March, for the use of an hundred and twenty men that were of us in one canon, we put them into the water, and embarked thereon, without staying for an hundred and forty more, who were finishing theirs; the ardent desire we had to be, as soon as possible, satisfied, whether we should really be able to reach the North-sea, egged us mightily to put on; for, according to the idea we had conceived of our passage, we were apprehensive of being carried back into that of the South, as not being able to think we could be so happy as to recover the sight of a sea, by which we might

might be carried home to our native countries, and which we had for so considerable a time longed for.

The English, who would not make any canoes, had got in their piperies before us to the sea-side: here they met with an English boat from Jamaica, at anchor, whom they were very forward to press, to go and ask leave of the governor of that island for their safe coming thither, because they had gone out without any commission; but that vessel being unwilling to go thither, without they laid down 6000*l*. Sterling by way of advance, and they being not in a condition to run the hazard of such a sum, because many of them had lost their money, as several amongst us had done, which they would have carried with them, by the oversetting of the piperies, they staid with the Moustick Indians, that dwell some leagues to the windward of the mouth of this river, and who are very kind to them, because of the triquets they bring them from Jamaica.

Thus, that boat proving to be of no use to these English, they politickly bethought themselves to send us word hereof, as hoping we in acknowledgment of this kindness, would obtain leave of the governor of St. Domingo for them to retire, and be protected in that island. This news we received by two Moustick Indians, whom in a boat they sent to meet us forty leagues up the river, and who told us, that there should no more than 40 men only come down, because that ship could contain no more by reason of the smallness of it, and its scantiness of provision: but, for all this, the 120, that made up one of our companies, went down together, for every one pretended to be of the number of the said 40.

Though this river we are now leaving is by some Spanish maps made to run directly 80 leagues, and



then to fall into the North-sea, yet we have computed the same to run above 300, being almost always carried to the south-east for to go to the north.

We happily arrived on the ninth at the mouth of the river, at cape Gracias de Dios, and entered into the sea, which with much satisfaction we knew to be that of the north, where we were obliged to wait for the English ship that was at the isles of Pearls, which are a dozen leagues distant from that cape to the east; here we staid till the fourteenth with the Mulasters that live in these parts, and who fed us for some days with fish.

This cape which stands on the continent, hath been inhabited for a long time by these Mulasters and negroes, both men and women, who have greatly multiplied there since a Spanish ship, bound from Guinea, frighted with their fathers, was lost by coming too near the shore, which is very dangerous in these parts: now, those who had escaped the shipwreck were courteously received by the Moustick Indians living about this canton, who were well pleased with the loss of that ship, and of the Spaniards, their enemies, that were in it.

Those Indians assigned their new guests a place to grub up, where they built themselves cottages in the finest country of Savanna's, that reach along the river from the mouth of it for five or six leagues upwards. Here, for their sustenance, they plant maiz, bananiers, and magniots, which the Indians gave them; they also taught them to make a most nourishing sort of drink, which they call Hoon; they prepare the same of a fruit that is produced on the top of a kind of a palm-tree, which grows naturally in these woods, and never exceeds ten feet in height; each of these trees bears no more than one bunch of grapes, but most of them are a full load for one man: its grain is of the same form and thickness as  
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an olive : some of them are yellowish, others reddish, and containing, in a very hard stone, an exceeding oily kernel : they pound the fruit, stone, and kernel all together, boiling the same afterwards in water ; and this makes up the composition : when the same is grown cold, or but luke-warm, they put what quantity they are minded to drink into a calabash pierced through with small holes like unto a skimmer ; this drink, besides that it is very nourishing, and fattens very much, is also a pleasanter liquor than any that is to be met with amongst the other Indians, the same being only peculiar to this nation.

The Mulasters are all a very tall people, and go altogether naked, saving their privy-parts, which they cover, nature having provided for them upon that account a kind of greyish stuff, which they pull from a tree called a bastard-palm, the top of whose stock is wrapped up in some fathoms of it, from the first rising of its branches some feet downwards, according to the thickness of each of these trees : this stuff is also a great help to them to make coverlets, wherewith to cover them in the night ; and some of those people, who live more at ease, wear shirts and drawers, which the English bring them from Jamaica. They are the boldest people in the world for exposing themselves to the perils of the sea, and undoubtedly the most expert in the art of fishing : they will commit themselves to the waves in these little boats, or such like, which an able seaman will scarce venture to do ; and here they will stay for three or four days together, being no more concerned, let the weather be what it will, than if they were made of the same piece as their boat ; and provided they can but once set sight on the fish, though swimming never so low in the water, they will not fail

fail to take him, so dexterous are they at this work.

They many times do our Free-booters a kindness, when they take them on board with them, upon condition of letting them have a share of what booty is got, which must be exactly performed unto them for if you deceive them, you must no longer expect their assistance; and this temper is peculiar almost to all the Indian nations in these parts, that they will never go again, when once you have broke your word with them.

The ancient Mousticks, who gave these men I have spoken of entertainment, live about ten or twelve leagues to the windward of Cape Gracias a Dios, in those places they call Sambay and Sambey: they are very slothful, and neither plant nor sow but very little, and lie all day on their Amacks, which are a kind of moving beds in their Ajoupas or Barracks, while their wives wait upon them in every thing as far as they can serve them; and, when they are pressed with hunger, they go a fishing in their boats, at which they are also very skillful, and, when they have taken any, they eat them, and go not out any more till hunger returns upon them again.

As for their cloathing, it is neither larger nor more sumptuous than that of the Mulasters at the cape. There are but a few amongst them that have a fixed abode, most of them being vagabonds, and wandering along the river-side, and having no other house to shelter themselves in but a latanier-leaf, which they manage so, that, when the wind drives the rain on the one side, they turn their leaf against it, behind which they lie, and this screens them against the weather: when they are inclined to sleep, they dig a hole in the sand, where they lie, and then cover themselves therewith; and this they do to keep themselves from the stinging of the Mousticks, wherewith the air is generally very full: they are little flies, that

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are sooner felt than seen, and have so sharp and venomous a sting, that, where they alight, they seem to have fiery darts wherewith to prick men. These poor people are so tormented with those mischievous insects, when they see them not, that their bodies appear like lepers; and I can assure it for truth, as knowing the same by my own knowledge, that it is no small pain to be attacked with them; for, besides that they caused us to lose our rest in the night, it was then that we were forced to go naked for want of shirts, when the troublesomeness of these animals made us run into despair, and such a rage, as set us besides ourselves.

When these Indians go a journey, though never so short, they take their wives, children, dogs, and fawns, which they breed tame, all along with them: it is a custom I have observed to be held among all the Indian nations on the terra firma of America; and these I speak of live as brutishly as any of the rest, yet they are not so cruel and savage, because of the society they have with the English; who have no other aim than to endeavour to bring them under, and master their country, where they have a great many habitations already.

On the fourteenth the vessel, which I said was gone to the isles of Pearls, arrived at the place where we were, and came scarce to an anchor, but we all crowded to go on board, because we were to draw lots who should embark; but about 50 of us for all that, being more vigilant than the rest, made a shift to enter her; who, thinking it unadvisable to go ashore again, to commit to chance a thing we were already in possession of, and for to prevent a greater number from entering in, we being already piled as it were on the top of one another, we weighed anchor and departed.

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The master would have carried us to Jamaica, but we not knowing how matters stood between France and England, whether it were peace or war, engaged him to carry us to St. Domingo, for 40 pieces of eight a head: we went to take in water at the isle of Pearls, and on the sixteenth left the same. On the seventeenth we doubled the island of Catalina or Providence, as the English call it, where the Spaniards had formerly a very fine fort and sma'l town, which were taken by the French and English, under the colours of the last. On the eighteenth we went to cross the channel though it blew a strong easterly breeze: On the twenty-fourth we came to land at Los Jardinos, which are a great many small islands near unto that of Cuba: and on the twenty-ninth we took in water at port Portilla (in the isle of Cuba) which is not inhabited. On the thirtieth we anchored to the S. S. E. of the borough of Baracoa, in the same island, where we surprized the hunters belonging to that place, whom we obliged to sell us the victuals they had took by giving them their own price for it: but this our liberality towards them proceeded from another cause, and that was, that we were uncertain whether our nation was at peace or war with the Spaniards: since we had no intelligence here or from any French country, how things went with them.

On the sixth of April we touched at Nippas, which is a small borough on the coast, 7 leagues distant from Petit Guavis, that so we might hear some news of our own country, while we rode at anchor there. There were some of our people so infatuated with the long miseries we had suffered, that they thought of nothing else but the Spaniards, insomuch that when from the deck they saw some horsemen riding along the sea-side, they flew to their arms to fire upon them, as imagining they were enemies, though we assured them we were now come among those of our  
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own nation. We left this port on the fourth, and went to anchor in the port of Petit Guavis, from whence we had departed almost 4 years before; and before we came near the fort, I went to Mons. Dumas, the king's lieutenant, to require him to grant us protection and indemnity in the governor Mons. de Cassy's absence, by virtue of an amnesty the king had been pleased to send to those that made war upon the Spaniards since the peace, which being concluded on since our departure, it was impossible we should come to know it in such remote places, and where we were thought to have been entirely destroyed.

Lastly, when we were got all ashore to a people that spoke French, we could not forbear shedding tears for joy, that, after we had run so many hazards, dangers, and perils, it had pleased the Almighty Maker of the earth and seas, to grant a deliverance, and bring us back to those of our own nation, that at length we may return without any more ado to our own country; whereunto I cannot but farther add, that, for my own part, I had so little hopes of ever getting back, that I could not for the space of 15 days take my return for any other than an illusion, and it proceeded so far with me, that I shunned sleep, for fear, when I awaked, I should find myself again in those countries, out of which I was now safely delivered.

A RE-

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## RELATION of a VOYAGE

MADE BY THE

Sieur DE MONTAUBAN,

Captain of the FREE-BOOTERS,

On the Coast of Guinea, in the Year 1695.

WITH A

Description of the Kingdom of CAPE LOPEZ,  
the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the  
Country.

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A LETTER to Monsieur ~~Montauban~~

‘ SIR,

‘ **A** RELATION of the voyage made by captain Montauban, commonly called Montauban, is at last  
‘ come to my hands, and I have sent you the same  
‘ in print: there is no doubt, but you will admire,  
‘ as well as I, how much his prudence and courage  
‘ have been instrumental to deliver him from  
‘ many unhappy accidents, where another must  
‘ have infallibly perished. You will remember, as  
‘ soon as you begin to read, to have seen some of  
‘ his men at Bourdeaux, in the year 1694; from  
‘ thence it was he departed the following year to  
‘ undertake the voyage you are here presented with.  
‘ He gave chase to several ships he met with in his  
‘ way;

way; he fought with a frigate carrying thirty-four guns, at Cape Verde; he met with an English ship of twenty guns, at Cape St. John, which he took in a short fight; after which he took a Brandenburg caper, and sailed away for Angola. Near the shore he met with an English guard-ship, being a frigate carrying fifty-four pieces of cannon: this ship he fought five or six hours, and both of them very bravely boarded one another; and as he was about to make himself master of the said ship, the English captain set fire to his powder, and so both the ships blew up into the air with a terrible crack.

You will have the pleasure to contemplate, in the perusal of this book (as if you stood upon the sea-side) this tremendous shipwreck; as also see how the Sieur de Montauban, together with fifteen or sixteen of his men, were saved. He suffered hunger for above three days together, and at last arrived at Cape Lopez, from whence he went to visit the king of that country, of whose court and kingdom he has given us here a description: He speaks also of his reception, and advances a project how to settle the Roman Catholick faith in those parts: he stood for surety at the baptizing of a son of prince Thomas, the foresaid king's son. He went on board a Portuguese ship in order to his passage to Europe: an Englishman, that was his friend, took him aboard his vessel, and carried him to Barbadoes, where he was confined to his chamber by colonel Russel, who was governor of those islands: he was freed from thence, and went to Martinico, where he saw M. de Frontenac, general of the French islands. From thence he got into France, being very uncertain whether he shall return to sea again. But, sir, all these adventures are set forth in so natural and easy a stile, that you cannot



' cannot but infallibly observe the sincerity and  
 ' generosity of the author. It is true, our sea-far-  
 ' ing men are not so polite as those who live on  
 ' shore; and that proceeds from want of society  
 ' and conversation: but to make amends for that,  
 ' they are an hundred-fold more sincere than the  
 ' other. And thus, sir, do not think a sea-faring man  
 ' will impose upon you: for myself, I have several  
 ' times heard Montauban, in person, give a relation  
 ' of this same voyage, but I could never observe  
 ' that he varied in any one thing at any time; and  
 ' the free and generous air wherewith he delivered  
 ' those brave actions he has performed in fight, would  
 ' persuade you of the truth of what he hath related.  
 ' It is not for any ostentation that he has written  
 ' this account; he has in the very beginning thereof  
 ' declared openly enough, that he had no other end  
 ' in doing it, than to give a minister of state an  
 ' account (as he calls it) of his campaign. In short,  
 ' if you are dubious in respect to the fight where  
 ' the *Sieur de Montauban* was shipwrecked, you  
 ' may recollect yourself, and find you have read the  
 ' same in the gazettes of September and October this  
 ' present year.

' I am, Sir, your most humble

' and most obedient Servant,

' B——'

RELATION

## RELATION of a VOYAGE

MADE BY THE

Sieur DE MONTAUBAN,

Captain of the FREE-BOOTERS,

On the Coast of Guinea, in the Year 1659.

SINCE I have so often felt the malignant influences of those stars that preside over the seas, and by an adverse fortune lost all that wealth which with so much care and trouble I had amassed together, I should take no manner of pleasure in this place to call to mind the misfortunes that beset me before the conclusion of the last campaign, had not desire of serving still both the public and particular persons, as well as to let his majesty know the affection and weddedness I have always had for his service, made me take pen in hand to give M. de Phelipeaux an account of such observations as I have made; wherein he may also find with what eagerness I have penetrated to the remotest colonies of our enemies, in order to destroy them and ruin their trade.

I was not willing to swell up this relation with an account of all the voyages I have made, and all the particular adventures that have befallen me on the coasts of New Spain, Carthagena, Mexico, Florida, and Cape-Verd, which last place I had been at twenty years ago, having begun to use the seas at the age of sixteen.

I could also have added hereunto the campaign I have made in 1691, when, being commander of the ship

ship called the Machine, I ravaged the coasts of Guinea, entered into the great Serelion, and took a fort from the English, where they had four-and-twenty pieces of cannon, which I caused to be split, that they might be of no farther use unto them.

But I am desirous to confine myself to give an account of my last voyage, because it is the nearest, and that which is yet fresh in the memory of the public; notice and some information having been given thereof by the noise made in France and elsewhere, of the burning of my ship, and the terrible crack it made in the air.

In the year 1694, after I had ravaged the coast of Caracca, I went up to the windward towards St. Croix, where I understood that there were some merchants ships, with a convoy, to come from Barbadoes and Nevis, and bound for England; and upon the same information I resolved to sail up to the height of the Bermudas, hoping to take this small fleet, and so to make a good booty of it. I was scarce got thither, but that I saw them appear, and sailing directly towards me, without any apprehensions of danger upon them: but I presently attacked their convoy, called the Wolf, and took her, with two more of the merchant ships laden with sugar, the rest having made their escape during the fight. As I was carrying my prize into France, I met with another English ship of sixteen guns coming from Spain, and bound also for England, that after a short fight struck, and which I carried to Rochel, where the admiralty judged the same to be good prize. When I had sold this ship, I carried my three other vessels to Bourdeaux, where I arrived in September 1694; and these last being also condemned as good prizes, I made it my business presently to find out merchants that would buy them.

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In the mean time, my freebooters, who had not seen France of a long time, finding themselves now in a great city, where pleasure and plenty reigned, were not backward to refresh themselves after the fatigues they had endured, while so long absent from their native country. They spent a world of money here, and proved horribly extravagant. The merchants and their hosts made no scruple to advance them money, or lend them as much as they pleased, upon the reputation of their wealth, and the noise there was throughout the city of the valuable prizes whereof they had shares: all the nights they spent in such divertisements as pleased them best, and the days in running up and down the town in masquerade, causing themselves to be carried in chairs, with lighted flambeaux at noon-day, of which debauches some died, while four of my crew fairly deserted me: so that now, seeing I lost my men, notwithstanding all the care I had taken, and strict injunctions I had laid upon them, I thought it adviseable for me to be gone from thence as soon as I could, that I might keep the rest together.

In the first place I supplied the room of those whom I had lost with as many Bourdeaux young men, who in a short time became as expert as the old ones; for you are to observe, I made it my continual care and business to teach my men to shoot; and my so frequent exercising of them rendered them in a short time as capable of shooting and handling their arms, as the oldest sea freebooters, or the best fowlers by land.

When I had revictualled my ship, that carried no more than thirty-four pieces of cannon, I left Bourdeaux in the month of February 1695, with an intention to go and cruise on the coast of Guinea in Africa. I got up to the Azores, which are thirty-seven degrees north latitude, and cruised thereabouts for

for the space of eight days without any purchase: from thence I passed to the Canary Islands, which are in twenty-five degrees north latitude: we discovered the Pike of Teneriff a great way off, which they say is the highest mountain in the world. They report these mountains had their names from dogs, which the Latins call Canes, and which the Portuguese found here in great numbers upon their first arrival. I cruised round about them for fourteen days, in expectation of meeting with some Dutch ships which I was informed were to come that way, and it proved to be really so; for the said ships came thither, but they got into the port before I could reach them; and this made me sail away for the White Cape, and the Isles of Cape Verd, that are between fourteen and eighteen degrees north latitude. Upon my arrival there, I found two English ships lying at anchor in the road of the isle of May, which made me put out my shallop to know what they were, and the same informed me that they were two interlopers, carrying about thirty guns each. I resolved to board and take them; to this end I lay by to come nearer them; but as we bore upon one of the points of this island, these ships did not think fit to tarry for my coming up; but smelling my design, they made all ready, and left their cables and anchors in the road, at which their shallops lay.

I pursued them all day; but night coming on I lost sight of them, and returned to the road from whence they were gone, in order to take away the cables and anchors, and to sink the shallops fastened by them. When I had so done, I sailed away for the isle of St. Vincent, to caulker my vessel in that place, and to take in water and wood. This island also is one of those of Cape Verd. Here I staid for the space of eight days, at the end whereof, understanding by a Portuguese bark that there were

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two English ships carrying from twenty to thirty guns, at the isle of Fugo, one of which was refitting there, because of a fight she had been engaged in with some other ships: I presently weighed anchor and sailed away for the said island, which is not far distant from that of St. Vincent, being in hopes to meet with the enemy in that place; but upon my arrival, I understood by a Portuguese, that they were gone away four or five days before, in the night, without saying any thing of the place whither they were bound, from the said island of Fugo, or Fire-Island. I thereupon steered my course for the coast of Guinea, and first discovered the Cape of Three Points, where I met with the guard-ship, which was a Dutch frigate, carrying thirty four guns, and cruised out at sea. She quickly discovered me, and made directly towards me, in order to know what I was: as I had also on my part perceived her, and was in hopes to come close and fight her, I hung up Dutch colours, that I might not frighten her away, but give her an opportunity to come within cannon-shot of me. When I saw her near enough, I put up French colours, and gave her a signal to strike; but instead thereof she, without any more ado, very bravely gave me a broad-side, and at the same time received one from me. We continued to fight one another in this manner from morning till four in the afternoon, without my being able to get the weather-gage, or come up near enough unto her, to make use to any purpose of my fusils, which are the chief arms in such ships as ours be; nor to hinder her, by the favour of the wind which she had of me, to go and anchor under the fort of the Cape of Three Points, where there were two Dutch ships more fitted out for men of war, one whereof carried fourteen, and the other twenty-eight pieces of cannon. I presently thought these three ships had

joined together, in order to come out and fight me, which made me lie by thereabouts for a whole day in expectation of them. I anchored also within a league of the shore, hoping at length that they, being spighted at my insulting them in this manner would be eager for revenge : but all this to no purpose, and in all appearance the guard-ship had already found herself so ill-treated, that she had no occasion for a second fight. A small Portuguese ship, that passed by soon after, told me these ships were the same that had forced the *Sieur Rey*, captain of the king's flute called the *Deep*, to leave that coast ; which also was confirmed afterwards unto me by the *Sieur Rey* himself at *Prince's Island*, where I met him.

Seeing therefore that the enemy would not fight, and considering with myself it was not advisable for me to attack them under the cannon of the fort, I resolved to go to *Cape Lopez*, and to *Prince* and *St. Thomas* isles : in my passage I discovered *Cape St. John*, that stands on the continent of *Guinea*, as well as the *Cape of Three Points*, and I happened to meet with an English ship of twenty guns, and that had three hundred and fifty negroes, elephants teeth, and wax on board it, which did not cost me much pains to take her. The captain told me he was come from *Ardra*, where he had taken five hundred and fifty negroes on board, but that they had slain some of them, because they had mutinied against his ship's crew ; and that some more of them had made their escape to land in his shallop, which they secretly stole from him. *Ardra* is one of the principal towns in *Guinea*, standing upon the sea-side, and the usual residence of a prince who governs a great country in this part of the world.

From thence I went to *Prince's Isle*, in sight whereof I took a small *Brandenburgh* caper, mounted  
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with eight pieces of cannon, and carrying sixty men. She cruised about this latitude, and took all the barks she could light on, without distinction of nation or colours. When I had done this, I went into the port, in order to clean my ship, which was foul enough; and that I might clear myself of the English prize I had taken, I sent her away to St. Domingo in America, to have the same condemned, under the command of the Sieur de Nave, and a sufficient number of men in her, whom I picked out of my own crew. But some time after, I understood she was taken by some English men of war that were before Little Goara.

In the mean time, that my men might not be idle; I gave my officers orders to see my ship careened; while I myself with the Brandenburg caper which I had taken, and ninety men whom I had put on board her, went out to cruise, and continued at it for six weeks, upon the coast of Guinea, or about the Prince's and St. Omer's Islands, without meeting any enemy. Whereupon I returned back into the road of the first of these isles, where I revictualled my ship as soon as possibly I could; and when all things were ready, I weighed anchor, and sailed directly for the isle of St. Thomas, there either to sell or truck the caper I had taken; which last I chose to do for some provisions, because I had not enough to go and cruise long upon the coasts of Angola, whither I had resolved to go and spend five or six months, in order to avoid the English ships they were fitting out at the same town of Guinea, which consisted of three men of war and a fire-ship, and were designed to go in quest of me, cruising about St. Thomas, where they thought I should continue.

As I left St. Thomas, I saw a ship at anchor; I sailed towards her, and gave her chase a long time;



but I could not prevent her getting to land at the Isle of St. Omer, and staving to pieces. In striving to take her, I lost an hundred and fifty pounds of gold dust, which this Dutch interloper had got in trading on this coast.

This being over, I sailed for the coasts of Angola, which is two hundred and fifty leagues on the other side of the Line: there I arrived on the twenty-second of September, and understood, when I came within three leagues of the port of Cabinda, there were two English ships with negroes on board in that place. As I was to leeward of that port, I bore out to sea, in hopes next day to have a south-west wind, that usually blows from the sea-ward, to help to recover the port. When day appeared, I saw a ship under English colours bearing upon me, whom I presently did not take to be a man of war; but some time after I discovered she carried no less than four-and-fifty guns. I used all the art I could to amuse her, and for that end I hung out Dutch colours that I might also the more easily come near her; while she on her part was not backward to amuse me, and by the guns she fired from time to time, to assure me of her friendship, endeavoured to come up with me. When I perceived my enemy's design, I took upon me to make a shew of waiting for him, and sailed but very slowly, that I might make him believe my ship was heavy laden, or that I was incumbered for want of sails and hands. We kept in this manner from break of day till ten in the forenoon. He gave me a gun from time to time without ball, to assure me what he was; and as he supposed my friend; but finding at last I did not answer him on my part in the same manner, and that we were now within cannon-shot of one another, he gave me one again with ball, which made me presently put up French colours, and answer him with another. Hereupon the English captain with-  
out

out any more ado gave me two broadsides, which I received without returning him one again, though he had killed me seven men; for I was in hopes if I could have got something nearer to him, to put him out of condition ever to get away from me: I endeavoured to come within a fusil-shot of him, and was desirous to give him an opportunity to shew his courage in boarding me, since I could not so well do the same by him, as being to the leeward. At last, being come by degrees nearer, and finding him within the reach of my fusils, which for that end I kept concealed upon the deck from his sight, they were discharged upon him, and my men continued to make so great a fire with them, that the enemy on their part began quickly to flag.

In the mean time, as their ship's crew consisted of above three hundred men, and that they saw their cannon could not do their work for them, they resolved to board us, which they did with a great shout, and terrible threatenings of giving no quarter, if we did not surrender. Their grappling-irons failing to catch the stern of my ship, made theirs run in such a manner, that their stern run upon my boltsprit, and broke it. Having observed my enemy thus encumbered, my men plied them briskly with their small shot, and made so terrible a fire upon them for an hour and a half, that being unable to resist any longer, and having lost a great many men, they left the sport, and ran down between decks, and I saw them presently after making signals with their hats of crying out for quarter. I caused my men therefore to give over firing, and commanded the English to embark in their shallops, and come on board of me, while I made some of my crew at the same time leap into the enemy's ship and seize her, and so prevent any surprize from them. I already rejoiced within myself for the taking of such a considerable prize; and so much the more, in that I hoped, that after having

taken this vessel that was the guard-ship of Angola, and the largest the English had in those seas, I should find myself in a condition still to take better prizes, and attack any man of war I should meet with. My ship's crew were also as joyful as myself, and did the work they were engaged in with a great deal of pleasure; but the enemy's powder suddenly taking fire, by the means of a match the captain had left burning on purpose, as hoping he might escape with his two shallops, blew both the ships into the air, and made the most horrible crack that was ever heard. It is impossible to set forth this horrid spectacle to the life; the spectators themselves were the actors of this bloody scene, not knowing whether they saw it or not, and not being able to judge of that which themselves felt. Wherefore, leaving the reader to imagine the horror which the blowing up of two ships above two hundred fathom into the air must work in us, where there was formed as it were a mountain of war, fire, wreck of the ships, cordages, cannon, men, with a most terrible clap made, what with the cannon that went off in the air, and the waves of the sea that were tossed up thither; to which we may add the cracking of masts and boards, the rending of the sails and ropes, the cries of men, and the breaking of bones: I say, leaving these things to the imagination of the reader, I shall only take notice of what befel myself, and by what good fortune it was that I escaped.

When the fire first begun, I was upon the fore-deck of my own ship, where I gave the necessary orders; now I was carried upon part of the said deck so high, that I fancy it was the height alone that prevented my being involved in the wreck of the ships, ~~where I must have infallibly perished~~, and been cut into a thousand pieces. I fell back into the sea (you may be sure) giddy-heady enough, and continued a long  
time

time under water without being able to get up to the surface of it; at last, falling into a debate with the water, as a person who was afraid of being drowned, I got upon the face of it, and laid hold of a broken piece of a mast that I found near me. I called to some of my men whom I saw swimming round about me, and exhorted them to take courage, hoping we might yet save our lives if we could light upon any one of our shallops. But what yet afflicted me more than my very misfortune was, to see two half bodies who had still somewhat of life remaining in them, from time to time mount up to the face of the water, and leave the place where they appeared all dyed with blood. It was also much the same thing to see round about me a vast number of members and scattered parts of men's bodies, and most of them spitted upon splinters of wood. At last one of my men having met with a whole shallop, among all the wreck that swam up and down upon the water, came to tell me that we must endeavour to stop some holes therein, and to take out the canoe that lay on board her: we got to the number of fifteen or sixteen of us who had escaped, near unto this shallop, every man upon his piece of wood, and took the pains to loosen our canoe, which at length we effected. We went all on board her, and after we had got in, saved our chief gunner, who in the fight had had his leg broke. We took up three or four oars or pieces of boards, which served us for that purpose; and when we had done that, we sought out for somewhat to make us a sail, and a little mast; and having fitted up all things as well as possibly we could, we committed ourselves to the Divine providence, who alone could give us life and deliverance.

As soon as I had done working, I found myself all over besmeared with blood that ran from a wound

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I had received in my head at the time of my fall. We made some lint out of my handkerchief, and a fillet to bind it withal out of my shirt, after I had first washed the wound with urine: the same thing was done to the rest that had been wounded, and our shallop in the mean while sailed along, without making land, or our knowing where we were going and what was still more sad, was that we had no victuals, and we had already spent three days without either eating or drinking. One of our men, being greatly afflicted with hunger and thirst at the same time, drunk so much salt water that he died of it; most of our men vomited continually, whether it were that they were incommoded with the water that got into them when they fell into the sea, as it will happen if they drink it out of mere necessity. As for myself, I was incommoded for a long time: I afterwards swelled up mightily, and my excrements came from me in the form of small buttons; and I attribute to a quartan ague, that seized on me soon after, the cure of my dropsy, and recovery of my health, that by degrees returned to me: I make no enumeration of the other inconveniences which so dangerous a fall brought upon me, such being unavoidable to a man that fell into so great a fire: all my hair, face, and one side of me, were burnt with the powder; and the same fate attended me as usually does bombardiers at sea, and that was, to bleed at the nose, ears, and mouth. I do not know whether this be the effect of the powder or no, by swelling up those vessels which contain the blood in our bodies to such an extraordinary degree, that the ends of the veins open and let it out; or that the great noise and violent motion that is wrought in those organs, makes the same happen. But let it come which way it will, since there is no room here for a consultation of physicians, as long as we were dying  
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of hunger, nor to enquire what became of the English, when we had so much difficulty, and could hardly save ourselves, we continued our course up the current with the help of our oars, because we knew the same came from the port of Cabindas: but as the wind was against us, we could never get thither, and were forced to be satisfied to get to the cape of Corisa if we could, which stands a dozen leagues from that of Catherina, where we could not land, because of a bar that renders the coast inaccessible: that was our design, but hunger hindered us to put the same in execution, and we were forced even to overcome the obstacles which nature laid in our way, by running ashore in spite of the bar: this we performed at last (after much difficulty) being in hopes to find there some negroes that might furnish us with some victuals. One of our company presently landed, in order to go and seek out somewhat to satisfy our hunger; and by good fortune found in a pond, sticking to the branches of trees, some oysters, whereof he gave us presently notice. We went all up to the very pond along a channel of the sea, where we were no sooner come, but we eat lustily of the oysters with a very good appetite: we opened them with a few knives we found in our pockets, lending the same from one to another very charitably and readily. When we had spent two days in that place, I divided my men into three small companies, and sent them up into the country to seek for victuals and houses, with orders to return again in the evening to the shallop: I went out myself also as the rest did; but we could find neither any houses, nor the least sign of any men in those parts. All that we could see were great herds of buffaloes, as large as oxen, who fled so fast from us, that we could not possibly come near them: wherefore having spent all the day in this manner, and got-

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nothing,

nothing, we returned to our shallop to eat oysters again, and resolved next day to leave this place, and go to Cape Corfa, to the leeward of which there is a large port, where ships that sail that way put in to furnish themselves with water and wood. The negroes that live in the country having notice of the coming in of ships by firing a cannon, come thither also with provisions, and barter the same for brandy, knives, and hatchets. They are forced to live remote from the sea, because all the coast is very marshy. As soon as we were got to the said cape, we heard a great noise made by the negroes who came thither to sell wood to the ships that lay at anchor in the port: I looked amongst them to see if I could find any one whom I knew, for as they had often brought me some wood, and other refreshments in the course of my former voyages, I was in hopes to find some or other that would know me again: but though I knew several of them, it was impossible for me to persuade any of them that I was captain Montauban, so much was I disfigured with my late misfortune; and all of them took me for a man that would impose the belief of it upon them: I thought fit to tell them in their own language, whereof I understood a little, that I was ready to die with famine, and prayed them to give me somewhat to eat; but it signified nothing: so I desired them to carry me to prince Thomas, who is son to the king of that country, as hoping he might call to mind the favours I had formerly shewed him.

I carried all my company with me to that prince. We were first brought to the dwellings of those negroes, where they began to be a little more tractable, and gave us some bananiers to eat, which are a sort of figs longer than a man's hand. Next day we got to the prince's habitation; but I was in so pitiful a condition, that I could never, by the signs I gave,

I gave, make him know me, though I spoke to him in his own language, as also in the Portuguese tongue, which he understood very well. It fortun'd one day, that going to bathe ourselves, he saw a scar upon my thigh, that was the effect of a wound I had received with a musket-ball : he told me that he must immediately know whether I was captain Montauban or no ; and that if I were not the man, he would cut off my head : he asked if ever I had a scar with a musket-shot upon my thigh, which when I shewed him, he presently embraced me, and said he was exceeding sorry to see me in that condition, and immediately caus'd victuals to be distributed among my men, and divided them into several habitations, with strict orders to the negroes with whom they were quartered, to take the greatest care they could of them. As for me, he kept me with himself, and made me always eat at his own table. When I was a little brought into order, he said he would carry me to see the king his father, who lived five or six leagues off, that is, about ten or a dozen from the sea-side. I let him know how great the favour and honour was he did me, and prayed him at the same time that I might have the liberty to let my freebooters go along with me, and grant us some pieces of stuffs to put ourselves in as good equipage as we could, in order to appear before so great a prince ; all which he allowed me, and three days after we went all together in a great canoe, and pass'd by the river of Cape Lopez, because the country is so full of marshes that you cannot go by land.

Being arriv'd at the king's habitation, which is a village consisting of three hundred booths, covered with palm-leaves, wherein the king keeps his wives, family, relations, and some other negro families whom he loves best, I was lodg'd in prince Thomas's house,



house, and all my men were distributed into other habitations. We found all the people in great lamentation, because the chief of their religion, whom they call Papa, had died that day, when they were to begin the funeral obsequies, which were usually to last for seven days for priests of that quality. This same person was had in great esteem and veneration by all the people, they looking upon him to be an holy man. As the king is in mourning, and sees no body all the while that this funeral ceremony lasts, prince Thomas bid me have patience, and not to go out of my lodgings for to see the king, because that was the custom of his nation.

However I could not forbear going to see the funeral solemnity, where I saw nothing else but a great concourse of people standing round the dead corpse. I was in the mean time very well fed by prince Thomas's orders, who was gone to see his father: they did not let me want bananiers, elephant's flesh, and river-fish, though all of it came without either bread or wine, as you may well suppose. My men were treated in the same manner in their respective quarters all the time we staid there.

At the eight days end prince Thomas came in order to carry us before the king. He is a large negro, well enough made, and about fifty years old, who to do me the greater honour, according to the relation given of me to him by his son, came out of his house to receive me, and advanced some steps to meet me. He was supported by four or five women, which gave him a kind of an air of grandeur, in a very cumbersome and fantastick manner: he was guarded by several negroes, who were armed with lances and fusils, which they discharged from time to time with no great order: there were several trumpets and drums marched before him, at the head of which

which company there were several standards carried, alike in colour to those used in Holland. He had no other clothes than a piece of cotton stuff, streaked with white and blue, wherewith part of his body was covered, the same being several times folded round about him.

He gave me many demonstrations of his friendship; he also stretched out his hand to me, saying, it was the first time he had ever done so to any man before me. Being come to his house, he sat at his door, and made me take place on the one side of him, as his son did on the other. He asked me several questions concerning the greatness and power of the king my master; and when I had told him that he alone waged war against the English and the Dutch, whom himself knew, as having seen them often at the cape of Lopez; that he also warred against the Germans and Spaniards, who were more potent nations than the English and Dutch; he also told me, he was pleased with my account, and that he would drink the king of France's health. Presently they brought him up some palm-wine, which is not unpleasant to drink, and his wives served him in a great chrystal glass. As soon as he began to take the glass the negro men and women lifted up their right arm and held the same in that posture very silently till he had done drinking; but when it was over, they made a great noise with their trumpets and drums, and discharged all their muskets, or I should rather have said fusils.

Prince Thomas then asked me, what was the king of France's name, and having told him, Lewis le Grand, he said he had a mind I should hold a child of his, of about seven or eight months old, to baptism, and that I should give him the name of Lewis le Grand, which made me smile a little at the humour. He told me also, that the first voyage I should make  
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into his country, he would give me the child to carry to France for a present to the king, to whose service he devoted him, being very desirous he should be brought up according to the custom of the country and court of so great a prince. I also promised on my part, that the first time I came to the coast of Guinea, I should not fail to come and put him in mind of his promise, that so, upon my return into France, I might be capable of making the greatest present that could be unto the king, in presenting him with the son of prince Thomas. And assure him, said the same prince, that I am his friend, and that if he has occasion for my services, I will go myself into France with all the lances and fusils belonging to the king my father; which was as much as to say, with all the force of the kingdom. The king presently pursued the discourse, and assured me he would go thither in person, if there was need for it; and with that all the negro men and women raised such a shout as much surprized me; and this was scarce over, when the fusileers made a general discharge of their arms; the drums and trumpets went to it again, and those who carried the lances set themselves a-running from one side to another with such horrible outcries as frightened me. I was really ignorant of the meaning of all this, and could not be satisfied till I saw the king drink the French king's health a second time, with the same ceremonies as at first; prince Thomas drank it also, and all of us were commanded to do the same. This being over the king ordered two wax cakes to be brought, whereof he made me a present, desiring of me to accept of them as a token of his friendship; and then he went into his house.

The audience being thus over, prince Thomas carried me along with him into all the parts of the village, whither he went to visit his friends; and we went  
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on the succeeding days to see several other villages that are scattered up and down the country, about five leagues distant from each other.

These people, the greatest part of whom had never been at the sea-side, and consequently had not seen any white people, ran from all quarters to see us, and brought us more fruit, with buffaloe's and elephant's flesh, than we could eat. As for the elephants of this country, they are not altogether like unto those in the East-Indies, whereof they are a different species; as are also those of Cafala, near Zanguebar on the Eastern coasts of Ethiopia. The negroes eat of their flesh with a good appetite, and like the same better than any other; hereof they provide their best feasts, and those who were minded to honour us most, brought it unto us instead of that of buffaloes, which I prefer much before it.

As they were not able to comprehend the difference there was between the colour of their faces and ours, they would frequently put their hands upon our faces to see if the white colour would go off; and it was the fortune of many of us to meet with hands scrubbed with knives, so as that many times we were hurt with them, which yet we durst not complain of. Prince Thomas, when he saw that, commanded all the attendants that they should suffer none to come and rub and scrape us with their fingers in that manner, and spoke aloud to all the people who came to see us, that all strangers were white as we were; and that if the negroes went into another country, they would seem to be as odd coloured there as we were in Guinea. He laughed also from time to time to see the people run in that fashion after us, as if we had been some unknown animal; and I am not certain whether he were sorry to see us thus incommoded with the importunities of those negroes, or that he took some pleasure to see

ee the folly of his countrymen, as I have done many a time, to behold all their extravagant humours.

At last, after a journey and diversion together of 3 days, the prince brought me back by another way to take my leave of his father: the king carested me a thousand times, after a most obliging manner, according to the custom of his country, and made me promise I should give him a visit the first time I returned into Guinea. Then we embarked in our canoes, and next day came to prince Thomas's village, where he continued to treat us after the same manner he had been used to do. Here he spake to me again, that he would have me stand witness for his son at his baptism; which I did with so much the more pleasure, in that I was helping to make a christian, and sanctify a soul.

But as I was dubious whether the priest of the town knew how to baptize a child, or that he could remember he words he ought to say at the administration of that sacrament, I desired the prince to send for a priest out of one of the Portuguese ships, which he presently did, to Cape Lopez: so that one came from thence in two days time. The Portuguese were the people that brought the christian religion first into these countries. It is true, they have not kept the same up there as they ought to have done; but the difficulties that obstruct that good establishment proceed, without doubt, from hence, that men must dwell in a country that is no better than savage, where the air and the victuals are not so agreeable to strangers. To give religion a sure footing in these regions, it is necessary that the Europeans have fixed habitations, or build towns there; that they instruct the negroes in the truths of the christian faith, and that they send out missionaries from time to time among these poor wretches. This might

might very easily be done, because the people are very docile, and readily apprehend the truths which you would teach them, as having lived without any faith at all, or any idea of another religion, for a long time. These negroes being once become christians, you might make priests among them of their own nation, who might be furnished with books for the ceremonies of the church, and a catechism for the rule of their faith, until they were capable to read the New Testament. It is necessary also, that a bishop were constituted in this town, who should take care to send priests to the dwellings of the negroes up and down the countries, and to build oratories in the most populous places. The christian religion might in this manner be settled in Guinea, and so become less subject to be ruined by the wars which strangers make there. The christians also who dwell in the kingdoms of Fes and Morocco might be reformed, and a correspondence settled between the priests of that nation, and those of Guinea, that so they might be assisting to one another for the keeping up of religion on all the coasts of Africa. It was in a manner not unlike unto this, that christianity established itself among the Gentiles, who were an hundred-fold more averse to our faith than the negroes of Guinea. The priests of this country are for the most part no priests at all, as having never been ordained by any bishop, and constituted themselves in the room of those that were deceased in their country. And thus it is that they have nothing in a manner that favours of christianity, though they have ceremonies enough, and some appearance of a sacrifice.

But to return to our baptism: the Portuguese priest being come, prince Thomas's son was baptized, and named Lewis le Grand, in pursuance to the intention of his father. A negro woman, one  
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of his relations, served as god-mother, and I for godfather. I was told this lady was called Antonia, and that she had been thus named by the wife of a Portuguese captain at her baptism.

Two or three days after this ceremony was over, which was performed with all the magnificence the negroes were capable of, prince Thomas's guards, which he kept at Cape de Lopez to give him notice of the arrival of any ships, came to tell him there was an English ship come thither. I desired him to let me go on board her, that I might return to my own country, to free myself from those many inconveniences I still laboured under. But he would not have me commit myself into the hands of my enemies, and desired me to have a little patience till the arrival of some Portuguese ships, with which he would let me go. In the mean time the prince went to Cape Lopez, there to exchange elephants teeth, bees-wax, and negroes, for iron, arms, and brandy, and returned from thence in ten or twelve days.

He told me, when he came back, that there was a Portuguese ship come to anchor at Cape de Lopez, and that I should go down in his canoe in order to go on board her; that he had recommended me to the captain, and that I should want nothing that was necessary for my voyage into Europe.

I presently gathered my men together, except two whom I did not think fit to wait for; for they were gone up into the country five or six days before, and I knew not where to find them. We therefore embarked on board this prince's canoes, after I had taken my leave of him; and upon our arrival at Cape Lopez, I found the Portuguese commander to be one of my friends, with whom I had contracted acquaintance at the isle of St. Thomas. I went on board him, and three days after we anchored at the

the said island, the governor whereof shewed me and my men a thousand civilities during a month's space that we were forced to tarry in that port. At the expiration of that time came in an English ship that had been out upon the Gold-Coast: I made acquaintance with the captain, and we grew to be such friends; that I thought myself obliged in honour to accept of the offers he made me: he prayed me to go on board his ship, and assured me I should find all the help imaginable at Barbadoes, whither he was bound, because there were very good Jewish physicians of that island of his acquaintance. I embarked therefore in his ship, with all my men, notwithstanding all the reasons given me by the governor of the island to make me suspicious of the Englishman, who was undoubtedly as honest a man as any of his country: he was so civil as to give me his own cabin, with all the pleasure and diversion he could think of, for the solacing of my spirits under the afflictions I had from time to time endured.

Ten days after our departure from St. Thomas, a blast of wind unhappily made us lose our rudder, in the room whereof we were forced to set up a spare top-mast; and this proved very detrimental to our voyage, which lasted no less than three months.

Provisions began to be scarce before our arrival at Barbadoes; so that when we came there, we had no more than what would have served us for three days longer; insomuch that the captain, being concerned that he had taken our men aboard, ordered our allowance to be lessened three fourths of what it should be. When we were got to port, the captain went to wait upon colonel Russel, who is general there, related to him my whole adventure with the guard-ship of Angola, and was much blamed for bringing me



me to Barbadoes. When the captain returned on board his ship, he told me what the governor had said, who had forbid him upon pain of death to let me go ashore : however, he said nothing to me of this prohibition, but contented himself with only desiring me not to go ashore, that it might create no suspicion in the governor ; which I promised exactly to perform, having no great concern upon me of seeing a place again that I had known so long ago, and being unwilling to create my captain any trouble.

Next day several Jews that had been driven away from Martinico, having heard of my arrival, came to see me, and finding I was very crazy, and much out of order, they sent some physicians of their nation to me, who said I could not be cured, if I were not carried ashore, and thereupon offered to solicit the governor on my behalf, for giving me leave to go and lie in a house in the town. I drew up a petition to him, praying him to grant me that liberty, and promising I would not stir out of the chamber where I was placed ; till I were to reembark to go for Martinico.

The physicians themselves were obliged to be my securities, and I was at length carried to Mr. Jacob Lewis's house, where I was very well looked after all the time I staid there. Three days after I was brought thither, the major-general came to see me from colonel Russel the governor : he very civilly offered me his protection, and all those things that could be conducive for the recovery of my health ; the same major, as also the captain of the garrison, came also to visit me from time to time, though I apprehended they came not so much to inspect into the state of my health, as to see if I were in a condition to be transported out of that island. Colonel Russel, about ten or twelve days after my arrival, came to see

see if I were as bad as they said I was. He came again about seven or eight days after in the evening, and caused me to be carried out of the Jew's house where I was, to an English merchant's. He told me I should be better accommodated there than at Jacob Lewis's; but I thought it was to the intent I might be watched more narrowly, and not converse with many people. He came to see me the next day, and asked, how I liked my new lodgings? I rendered him many thanks for the civilities and kindnesses he shewed me, and that he might have no occasion to suspect my men, I prayed him to shut them up in the citadel, that they might not run about the island, and to prevent their making of their escape.

He said, he would take care of it; but that I was to understand they were prisoners of war as well as myself. I made answer, I knew that, and that I thought myself an happy man, to have fallen into his hands: but that the English captain, who had brought me to Barbadoes, had given me his word, I should not be detained, nor any of my men; that it was upon his faith given me, and the tenders of service he made, that I had embarked, as firmly relying upon those testimonies of his friendship he had given me. Then I desired him to grant me and my men our liberty, promising I should be ever mindful of the favour done me, whether it were by restoring of the prisoners I might take belonging to the islands, or paying him such a ransom as he required.

No, said the governor, I will have neither your ransom, nor your prisoners, and you are too brave a man for me to have no compassion upon your many misfortunes; I desire, on the contrary, that you would accept of these 40 pistoles, which I present you with to supply your present occasion: he gave them  
me

me in a purse, which he had doubtless brought along with him for that purpose; and when he left me, he said, he went to give orders for to bring my men together. Next day he sent me two of them, who said they knew not what was become of the rest, and that they had orders from the governor to stay with me. I had the liberty to send them aboard to get me necessaries; and at last, finding myself somewhat recovered by the care my landlord took of me, I told the officer that came daily to see me, that I desired the governor to let me go on board the first vessel that was bound to Martinico.

Three days after came a bark, which the count de Blenac, general of the French islands, had sent thither about the exchange of prisoners: colonel Russel sent me word she was come, and that I should prepare to be gone. Then it was I had the liberty to go to his house to render him thanks for all the civilities he had shewed me: he told me, he was sorry that by the laws of war he was bound to allow me no more liberty than I had, and that he prayed me to use the English kindly that should happen to fall into my hands. This being done, I went on board the French bark, which was commanded by the Sieur Courpon, formerly an inhabitant of St. Christopher's, and I could never find any more of my free-booters than those two I have spoken of, whom the governor sent me.

We went ashore at Port-Royal in Martinico and I, went with my men to the town to wait upon monsieur de Blenac: who was then sick of that distemper he died of. I gave him a relation of all my adventures, and I am sure he was surprized to hear the particulars of so many misfortunes: as he would have me stay at his house all the time I tarried in Martinico, he made me every day repeat unto him the manner  
of

of my fight with the English man of war ; and at last finding an opportunity of getting me transported into France, he sent for the captain of the ship who was bound thither, and recommended me to him. He would also have writ letters by me to monsieur Phelipeaux, to recommend me to some employ ; but the day before my departure he was taken so very ill that he could not write, and that day, which was the 10th of June, in the evening he died : I was mightily troubled at his death for several reasons. He was a person that took delight in serving every body ; who had great compassion on such as had been persecuted by an evil fate, as was my case, who went forwards with what he knew, who of himself made an offer of those favours he was minded to bestow, before they were asked of him ; and who in short, was brave as to his person, skilful in maritime affairs, a good seaman, knew all the coasts and heights of land in America, was in great esteem with the king for his integrity, wisdom, justice, and for all the great services he had done the government in the way of commerce and discovery of islands. The next day after his death I embarked on board the Virgin, a ship belonging to Bourdeaux, and which had been built there, in which port, after a passage of not many days, I arrived at last, with many different thoughts, and contrary sentiments within me. I do not know whether I have bid the sea adieu, so much has my last misfortune terrified me ; or whether I shall go out again to be revenged on the English, who have done me so much mischief, or go and traverse the seas with a design to get me a little wealth, or rest quiet, and eat up what my relations have left me. There is as strange an inclination in men to undertake voyages, as there is to gaming ; whatever misfortunes befall them, they do not believe they will be always unhappy, and therefore they will play on.

on. Thus it is as to the sea, whatever accidents befall us, we are in hopes to find a favourable opportunity to make us amends for all our losses. I believe whoever reads this account will find it an hard task to give me counsel thereupon, or to take the same himself.



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January, 18

27th March

1st April

10th April









